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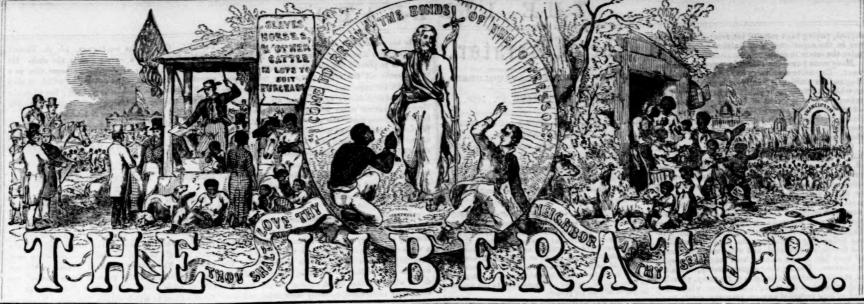
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The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-Committee, but are not responsible for any of the hots of the paper, viz:-Francis Jackson, Ep-GEND QUINCY, EDNUND JACKSON, and WENDELL



WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell.

The free States are the guardians and essen-

tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and constables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse

for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN

FRANING THE CONSTITUTION, SWEEVED FROM THE RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,

and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispossionately, and with manly and

Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

VOL. XXX. NO. 39.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1860.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1553.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Journal of Commerce. MRS L. MARIA CHILD AGAIN.

The New York Journal of Commerce has recently The New York Journal of Commerce has recently politished the same statement which we copied last winter, regarding the false philanthropy of Mrs. L. Maria Child, copied from a correspondent of the New Orleans Picaguna, to the effect that this lady has a mifering daughter at the South to whom she pays no hed, leaving her dependent upon the charity of strangers. While we do not admire Mrs. C., and have been taught to regard her opinions and her action, touching the great modern martyr of crime at Harper's Ferry, as the most utter and permicious 'twad-die,' still we were willing to, and did, make amends for having been innocently misled by the statement in the Economic, which proves to want any foundation. one, which proves to want any foundation .-

In a note to the Editor of the Sentinel, Mrs. Child In a note to the Editor of the Seminer, Arr. United states that she always has been childless,—or rather, has been, up to the date of the note,— thus refuting he charge above referred to.—Journal of Commerce. The main facts in the article in the Picayune are substantially correct, except that the lady referred to is not a daughter of Mrs. L. Maria Child. But

he is a young lady from Massachusetts, and spells er name Childs instead of Child. I am acquainted with the facts of the case, hav-

myself taught school in the Leigh family (not as printed in the *Journal of Commerce*) previ-to the employment of Miss Childs. I have ved in the vicinity ever since. Such acts of kindneed in the vicinity ever since. Such acts of kind-ness as shown by the Leigh family to Miss Childs are acts of true benevolence, true philanthropy. It is not that misgaided, morbid philanthropy exhib-ited by L. Maria Child when she hastened to the prison of John Brown, who was clearly proved to guilty of murder, bloodshed and treason, actuated, it may be, by the same morbid philanthropy that sent Mrs. Child to his prison. Abolition phiinthropy is all morbid and false, though I do not doubt that Mrs. Child and thousands like her are sincere in their acts. But could not Mrs. Child have found some objects of benevolence nearer home, eren in Massachusetts, really needing assistance, who never had raised their hands to shed human blood, and were guilty of no crime, but were re-duced to suffering and want by misfortune or the providence of God? I have seen many such cases Massachusetts, where I formerly lived and rean ansachusers, where I formerly lived and re-erved my education. But all such cases are over-looked by Abolition philanthropy. 'Distance lends enchantment to the view.' Charity with them never begins at home, but it must be lavished upon the negro of the South, who has more enjoyment and happiness than his master.

The worst enemy of the slave is the Abolitionist,

such as Mrs. Child, Garrison, Giddings, Phillips, and others alike fanatical and misguided. They have done more to 'tighten the chains of the slave' han all the 'pro-slavery' men of the North. Be-ore they commenced their tirades against the South, here they commenced their tirades against the south, the negro enjoyed more privileges and liberty than now. There was an opportunity to teach them to read and write. But their incendiary publications scattered over the land, inciting the slave to bloodshed, murder and rebellion, closed the door to instructions in this way. What instructions they get now in morals and religion, is verbal.

get now in morals and religion, is verbal. In my younger and more ignorant days, I was a reader of Garrison's paper, the Liberator. Ignorant Yes, I say ignorant, though I had then reeved a collegiate education. I was as truly ig-torant of the system of slavery, socially and morally, as if I had been born and educated in Japan. e more I read such papers as the *Liberator*, the re really ignorant I became. I relied upon a nd, or false guide, and found myself in the ditch. Yet this paper was not them near as ultra and seditious as now; not more so than many Republican papers of the present day. Garrisonism is the advanced guard of Republicanism; certainly as such Republicanism as is represented by Summer, Wilson, and Lovejoy. Conservative Republicans will halt when they once see where their advanced guard are leading them. But I did not take my pen to write on politics; I am no politician. I only wished to state that the Miss Childs above referred to was not the dustless of I. Mexic Childs. hter of L. Maria Child.

From the New York Journal of Commerce.

To THE EDITORS :- The life of Abolitionism lies in this: that thousands of honest men do not see the reason why negroes should be legally held to labor or service, and therefore assume that no reason exists, and war against the Constitution and the law upholding the rights of masters. We shall never have peace on the subject till the reason is pointed out. This I have briefly done in the followpointed out. This I have briefly done in the following article; and I beg you to print it. No man can understand what I have written without admitting that our slave laws have a basis of justice, even though a bad use may sometimes be made of them, even as bud land-owners can use their power for the oppression of the poor.

Negro slavery is not the only slavery, nor the

Acgro slavery is not the only slavery, nor the worst. Every act of human government is necessarily, so far as it is operative, an abridgement of individual liberty, to be justified only on the score of public necessity, or the lack of wisdom and honesty on the part of individuals to practice self-government; i. e., to do what is wisest and best for themselves and for scripts without extend forces. emselves and for society without external force. The more 'liberty' the wicked and foolish enjoy, the more slavery they inflict and suffer. tures suffer far more from too much liberty than

rom too little. These are truisms, but the insanity of the age calls for their frequent utterance. False notions of liberty threaten the destruction of all liberty. We are already much more free than honest. If the Abolitionists would but abolish Dishonesty, not only negro slavery but all slavery would abolish itself, and the Millenium would follow.

SOUTHERN AGGRESSION.

The Southern States of this confederacy have about 4,000,000 negroes, African savages or their descendants, to deal with. To leave these negroes free to follow their own inclinations would be a virtual annexation of the Southern States to Hayting to Consecution of the Southern States to Hayting the Consecution of the Southern States to Hayting the Consecution of the Conse or to Congo; for it would establish the same state of things there that exists in Congo—free polygamy, free laziness, free stealing from the nearest sheep-fold or hen-roost, and free seizures of the most accide by the most savage, to be held as slaves. To save those States from such anarchy and barbarism, the civilized whites. those States from such anarchy and barbarism, the cirilized whites, by legal enactments, have sought to repress the liberty of idleness. They do not permit their savages to live as savages or as vagabonds, but encourage white men to take them into their fields, and set them at work. To overcome the constitutional laziness of the negro is no easy matter. To make a negro do work enough to pay for his housing and keeping from intancy to old age, is no casy matter. No white man can be expected to do it for nothing. To induce white men to do it, and to do it well, the law allows them a permanent property in every savage whom they redeem from

burbarion and vagabordage, by teaching him to work at any hount or useful calling. The law, which we are also always to the strain of the provide them with all the necessaries of his, gives him full power to direct the industry, he may recover form naghordage, and to such his, and the provide them with all the necessaries for the gapter and the provide the within the strain of the strain of the provide the within the strain of the strain of the provide the within the strain of the strain of the provide the within the strain of the

stealers, or by demagogues and incendiaries; and it is their resistance to such attempts that constitutes the main staple of what their assailants term. Southern Aggression. If they have committed any other aggressions upon us, what are they? When have they filled the mails with incendiary cuts and placards calculated to array Northern poverty and labor against Northern capitalists? When have they filled the mails with incendiary cuts and placards calculated to array Northern personal Liberty Bills? When have they sent fire-brands into our Northern factories, or got up John Brown expeditions to organize our social malecontents into banditti? When did they forward strychnine to Northern servants, that they might poison their envied masters? Let Seward, Weed and Greeley and swer.

One point more. When we seek to make the slight necessity for special legislation in regard to the negroes as 100 to 1, the rule whereby Southern legislators shall govern their action, do we not commit an 'aggression' upon the Southern States' Where a single negro is thrown among a hundred white men, there are many chances that the industrial momentum of the hundred may so far overcome the inertia of the one, as to make him earn his support without giving him a special guardian and master by law. There are many chances that the negro so many industrious white men around, for him to prey upon, that his pickings and stealings will not have learnt to work. And even should the negro grow up a mere vagrant and parasite, there are so many industrious white men around, for him to prey upon, that his pickings and stealings will not have learnt to work. And even should the negro grow up a mere vagrant and parasite, there are so many industrious white men around, for him to prey upon, that his pickings and stealings will not have learnt to work. And even should the negro grow up a mere vagrant and parasite, there are so many industrious white men around, for him to prey upon, that his pickings and stealings will not have learned to the one, as to there, between discipline and barbarism. The undustrial education of a negro multitude cannot be managed without fixed and responsible masters, endowed with all necessary authority by law, and stimulated by some surer reward than the chance wages to be derived from negro conscientiousness and negro gratitude. No man would house, and clothe, and feed a family of negroes from birth to maturity for such amount of work as they might please to give him after they were grown up; yet the whole tendency of Abolitionism is, to require the Southern land-holders to do this, and to strip the negroes born at the South of all civilized protection and guidance, save such as the few white capitalists amongst wom they are scattered, may be able and willing to give them for nothing! Men at the North, who rarely allow a poor white family to live in one of their tenant houses a single month without paying a whacking rent, (often in advance,) demand that the Southern planters should harbor whole households of negroes all their life for nothing; for, whatever the professions or even the intentions of Northern meddlers may be, that would be the practical result. Southern planters should harbor whole households of negroes all their life for nothing; for, whatever the professions or even the intentions of Northern meddlers may be, that would be the practical result should be the practical results and the printing Press, what was her course on Slavery? Alas! not all that we could wish; but

sion as this, 'Southern Aggression'? J. H. H.

SELECTIONS.

MASSACHUSETTS AND VIRGINIA.

Slavery? Alas! not all that we could wish; but still enough to make her an example. Unhappily slavery, although in a much mitigated form, came to be recognized here. But it never flourished, and it was from the beginning surrounded with impediments to its increase. To our glory, let it be known, that no person could be born a slave on our soil. This odious yoke was not transmissible in the blood. It ended with life, and did not visit itself upon the MASSACHUSETTS AND VIRGINIA.

THE MAY-FLOWER AT PLYMOTH, AND THE THEST LAYE MAY SELTEM TO A PLAMESTON.

Extract from a speech delivered by Hon. Charles Summers and the self an

the Christian and social virtues which so eminently all kinds, while Samuel Adams said to his wife, who had brought into his house a slave for a servant, that whoever entered his house from that time forward ceased to be a slave. Sparing all unnecessary details, suffice it to say, that, as early as 1769, one of the courts of Massachusetts, anticipating the renowned judgment in Somersett's case, established the principle of emancipation, and, under its touch of benign power, changed a slave into a freeman. In the same spirit voluntary manumissions took place, as by Jonathan Jackson, of Newbury, port, who, in a deed, which may be found in the Probate Records of the County of Suffolk, declared that it was 'in consideration of the impropriety long felt in beholding any person in constant bondage, more especially at a time when his country is so warmly contending for the liberty every manuage, more especially at a time when his country is so warmly contending for the liberty every manuage, more especially at a time when his country is so warmly contending for the liberty every manuage, more especially at a time when his country is so warmly contending for the liberty every manuage. The country is now our hone; many of us have sought it through great perils, and we rejoice to be permitted to account ourselves subjects of our beloved Queen, within the vast dominions which hail her beneficent sway.

May God bless our Gracious Queen and Your Royal Highness! revolutionary patriots, placed in front of her bill of rights the emphatic words 'all men are born free and equal,' and by this solemn declaration, afterrights the emphatic words 'all men are born free and equal,' and by this solemn declaration, afterwards enforced by her courts, made slavery impossible within her borders. From that time it ceased to exist, so that the first census after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in the enumeration of slaves, contains a blank against the name of Massachusetts; and this is the only State which has this honor. Thus, of old, did Missachusetts lead the way.

OTTAWA, Sept. I, 1860.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the received of your letter of the 24th August, enclosing a copy of an address proposed to be presented to the Prince of Wales by the people of African descent residing in Western Canada.

I am to inform you that His Royal Highness desired the way.

has this honor. Thus, of old, did Missachusetts lead the way.

If all this be good for Missachusetts: if she has wisely rejected slavery, then is it her duty to do for others within the reach of her influence what she has done for herself. And here her sons have not slaways been remiss. Follow her history, and you shall find that, on the national field, they have stood forth for the good cause. In 1785, one of her representatives in the Continental Congress, the eminent Rafus King, at the time a citizen of the District of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, moved trict of Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, moved the prohibition of slavery in the Territories of the United States; and in 1789, Nathan Dane, another of her representatives, reported the ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory, containing this same prohibition. And, at a later day, when the Missouri Compromise was under discussion, that same son of Massachusetts, Rufus King, whose home was now transferred to New York, showed himself inflexible against all compromise Address of the Colored People of that city to the Poole of the Colored People of the Colored People

Оттама, Sept. 1, 1860.

I have the honor to be, Your obedient servant, R. T. PENNEFATHER, Gov. Sec. A. T. Jones, Esq.

sion, that same son of Massachusetts, Rufus King, whose home was now transforred to New York, showed himself industible against all compromises with all his weight of years, churacter, and ability led the effort to restrict it. John Quincy Adams, another son of Massachusetts, was at the time Seretary of State, and he, too, carolled himself on the same side. Afterwards, when the discussion of slavers was renowed in Congress, this same champion, then a representative from Massachusetts, entered the list for freedom, and in his old age, after having been President, achieved a second fame. Slavery, which was now exalted by its partitions as beneficient and just, he exposed in its enormity; the knot of slave-masters who had domineered over the country, he demonated with withering soorn, while he vindic eated the right of petition, which slave-masters as sailed, and uphed the primal truths of the Deckartion of Independence, which slave-masters had and aciously denied. Thus constantly spice Massachusetts, and in her voice was the voice of the May-Flower stands which was allegiance to the British Crown, darking and the lard of the weight of the Coloral was a common bind between the charities, so that one draws others in its trait.

And the grand charity for which we to-day bless out Commonwealth is only one of many for which she in now illustrious. Goodness grows by activity, and the moral and intellectual character which has given her that name on the earth, which is a source of pride to her children. Strike the chart is a source of pride to her children. Strike the chart of the chart which has given her that name on the earth, which is a source of pride to her children. Strike the whole weight of the property it rue to that Spirit of Liberty in which slavery was abolished within her borders, true to that Spirit of Liberty in which slavery was abolished within her borders, true to the saginst slavery in the other of the chart of

and long-continued efforts against slavery: true to the declaration in her own Bill of Rights, by which slavery was abolished within her borders; true to the examples of her illustrious representatives; and lastly, true to that moral and intellectual character, which has made her the home of generous charities, the nurse of true learning and the land of churches. This is our duty.

From the Canada West True Royalist.

COLORED PEOPLE'S ADDRESS.

Below will be found the correspondence that has taken place between Mr. Jones, a gentleman of color, and the Governor General, touching the presentation of an address from the colored population to the Prince of Wales. The documents will speak for themselves:—

London, C. W., Aug. 24th, 1860.

Since the Autumn of 1858, I have not gone from home to attend a public meeting. All this time, until recently, my health has been poor. It is now vigorous. Nevertheless, my friends, and probably entire prostration of both body and brain for me to be taking part in exciting public occasions.

What I have said will exuse me for not being at your Convention in behalf of realizing the just idea of civil government. Therefore an I deeply interested in it. Among all my conceptions of earthly good. civil government. As the church is the union of all, for the welfare of such, so also is the government. It is true that whilst the church is to look after the entire welfare of such, so also is the government. It is true that whilst the church is to look after the entire welfare of such, so also is the government. It is true that whilst the church is to look after the entire welfare of such, so also is the government. It is true that whilst the church is to look after the entire welfare of such, so also is the government. It is true that whilst the church is to look after the entire welfare of such, so also is the government. It is true that whilst the church is to look after the reliance of such, so also is the government is to do no more for its subjects than to prove the welfare of such, so

must be left to serve slavery, and slavery must be left to go out in blood. So, too, could the dramshop be quickly voted to an end. Nevertheless, it will be left to manufacture paupers and madmen and blasphemers, to fill the land with peril to person and property; to take bread from the mouths of children and to break mothers' hearts.

As I view things, the Convention will do well not to call for any great outlay of time and money to increase the vote for its tickets. I have, from first

increase the vote for its tickets. I have, from first to last, spent much time, and tens of thousands of dollars, in endeavors to increase our abolition and temperance vote. A little done in that way would have been well. But I did much more than was called for. The time and money were at least half wasted. Two years ago, I was simple enough to hope that, by great effort, we could carry our abolition and temperance vote in this State up to thirty or forty, or even fifty thousand. I expended lition and temperance vote in this State up to thirty or forty, or even fifty thousand. I expended between four and five thousand dollars in hiring halls, and in paying printers and lecturers, &c.; and I went to fifty-four meetings, and begged, as on my knees, for votes. But, instead of getting so many as would encourage us to try the ballot-box again, we got so few (but five to six thousand) as to leave us but little hope of soon, if indeed of ever, getting more. I would go into a county, and not be able to find a single man to vote our ticket. I was everywhere met by old fellow-laborers in the cause of freedom and temperance, who, instead of giving me their co-operation, told me that I was ruining the Republican party. It seemed not to have occurred to them that the Republican party had ruined them. Nor did it seem to have occurred to them that freedom and temperance were better worth saving than the Republican party.

We do not need to employ presses and lecturers to convince the people that slavery and the dram-

PHE PRINCE AND THE COLORED PEOPLE'S ADDRESS.

The Lind in Prototype appears to be much missishen in the position he has taken in relation to the conviction. But we do need to employ them to teach the people the true religion—the simple re-ligion of reason, common sense, and Jesus Christ. Had they this religion, they would be drawn to rational and righteous voting, as naturally and nec-essarily as the needle is drawn to the pole. You will need a fund of one or two hundred dol-lars to defray the expense of printing tickets and

lars to defray the expense of printing tickets, and getting them into the hands of suitable depositaries in different parts of the country, who, in their turn, will give them out to the half-dozen in this county and the dozen in that, who refuse to vote the tickets of any party which is so atheistic as to yout for white men or so perciles as to reco go but for white men, or so merciless as to recog-nize the lawfulness of slave-hunts, or sunk so low in its views of human dignity and human decency as to see in the dram-shop a human want. The enclosed draft for fifty dollars is my contribution to

Think not that I shall be sorry to find your Convention refusing to partake of my tone of discouragement. I shall rejoice if it can see encouragement to undertake to obtain a considerable vote at ment to undertake to obtain a considerable vote at the approaching election; and if it can feel itself warranted to entertain the hope of a speedy overthrow of slavery and the dram-shop by the force of political action, I stand ready to work with your Convention even against hope. To work with those who are endeavoring by peaceful means to rid the world of oppression and intemperance would do me good, and; them good, and the world good, even if the direct object of our work should remain entirely unaccomplished.

Your friend,

Peterboro', August 27, 1860.

Peterboro', August 27, 1860.

William Goodell, editor of The Principia, in a sharp review of Gerrit Smith's letter, says :-

We are not pleased with the idea of going into battle under the leadership of a General who tells his army, before hand, that he has little or no hope of ultimate success in the undertaking. That there is, indeed, no prospect of a successful issue of the great struggle between Despotism and Freedom, or even of making what worldly politicians would regard a respectable commencement of that struggle, during the pending Presidential contest, no one needs be told. But, in a world wherein the most glorious and enduring achievements in behalf of needs be told. But, in a world wherein the most glorious and enduring achievements in behalf of human progress, whether moral, religious or political, are almost uniformly connected with the feeblest and most derided beginnings, a world in which the most glorious and enduring achievement ever witnessed was by a leader with but twelve followers, all of whom, in the hour of peril, forsook him and flad—in such a world, in prosecution of the same enterprise, and under the same patronage and guidance, we can by no means consent to listen to the desponding tones of the leader selected for the present campaign. Nor, on the supposition that so desponding a leader was wisely selected, and that his proclamation of despondency was considerately and wisely embhazoned upon his banner, can we perceive the wisdom of selecting any leader, or of going into the battle at all. We are not certain that 'a man is made better and stronger' by a struggle of desis made botter and stronger' by a struggle of desperation, without laith or hope, or that a happy influence' is exerted by his example'—on those who see him' thus struggling. Precisely the opposite effects we think we witness, daily, both upon those who thus labor, and upon those who witness such labors. we hold to the sentiment of the old Roman, s

paraphrased by Addison, that Fear, admitted into public counsels, betrays, like

treason.

We hold, on (to us) a far higher authority, that there are no moral victories for ' the fearful and un-

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believing '-shut up, as they are, to the alternation of turning aside in to crooked ways. What cause, like discouragement, has paralyzed and thinned the ranks of radical abolitionists, for

and thinned the ranks of radical abolitionists, for fifteen years past, and sent them running through the swampy thickets of expediency, after such willowisps as Van Buren, Hale, and Fremont, (not to add Lincoln.) while notes of despondency and of semi-endorsements of such politicians have been continually sounding in their cars? Considering that those notes and semi-endorsements have come from their chief standard-bearer, after whose name they are commonly called, is it not almost a miracle that any of them still remain firm? Has the experiment of 'working against hope' proved a benefit, either to the worker, or to the lookers on? So long as the leader predicts defeat, is it creditable that a victory will be achieved? Was it thus that Joshua, Gideon, Jepthæ, Sampson, Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon did exploits? Was it thus that Paul and Luther

and Granville Sharpe triumphed?

The maxims of Christian heroism, 'What ought to be done can be done'— Expect great things, at-tempt great things'—have been pulled down, at Syracuse, and the watch-word, 'Expect nothing, attempt little,' has been run up in their stead. Can nen be blamed, if, with such a banner before them, they fail to enlist? Or that, if enlisted, they should obey marching orders,—and by attempting little, accomplish nothing?

Excuse us, brethren. We have witnessed such

experiments long enough, and too long, already. We cannot fight our battles under that banner. We had rather go 'on our own hook.' We impugn the motives of no one. We censure no one. We withdraw friendship from no one. The brethren at Syracuse have done what they thought best. And

We cannot help to carry on a struggle at th anding that it is to be ballot-box, with the understanding that it is to be a hopeless one, and that the bayonet of local re-sistance and bloodshed is, after all, to be the only hope for the slave or the country. We have no b lief that a people, with the power of the ballot i their hands, and without faith, hope, courage and fidelity, to wield it wisely, will ever have the courage, skill, and love of freedom, to preserve or to regain their liberties by fighting for them. Taking gain their liberties by againg for their the proceedings of the Syracuse Convention, as whole, its resolutions and the letter of its Presider tial candidate -however the documents may have -we cannot read them into anything more hopeful than this. So far, at least, as the support of the Presidential candidate is concerned. can see no better destiny in prospect, by his own showing. To the sound of such a trumpet, who shall prepare himself for the battle, or for anything but ignominious flight? We want a Joshua and Caleb, in whose sight the hosts of Israel, as com We want a Joshua and a pared with their enemies, are not 'as grasshoppers,' but who will say to the people, 'Let us go up at once, and possess the land, for we are well able to Of Dr. Cheever himself, the letter says:

· He will not himself, vote for dram-shops and slave-catchers, for he has, in a good degree, outgrown

Without stopping to inquire on what authority this distinction is made between the Church of the Puritans and Dr. Cheever, it is more directly to our purpose to ask what religion of Dr. Cheever it is, that he has in a good degree outgrown? Is it the religion of Justice and Mercy? Mr. Smith will not admit that this was his meaning. Was it any pro-slavery or anti-temperance religion that he formerly cherished? No. He never had any such religion. He has not changed his religion. He was early taught the religion of the Bible, in the orthodox exposition of it, and espoused it as the vital element and rule of his life. When the temperance enterprise began, he espoused the temperance cause. When the anti-slavery enterprise began, he espoused the abolition cause, (as George Thompson lately bore testimony in London,) about the time that Gerrit Smith has admitted that he did—because he believed the orthodox doctrine of regen eration, a change of heart, immediate and un ditional repentance, a doctrine derived from the Bible and from the orthodox exposition of it, a doctrine that, like all the other doctrines of Bible orthodoxy, is of the most vital practical bearing, a doctrine that cannot be heartily embraced and obeyed without producing the fruits of practical godliness, a doctrine congruous and in harmon with no intelligible system of religious instruction on earth, except the orthodox, one of the very shib-boleths of the orthodox creed, as total abstinence is with the tetotallers-as immediate and uncon tional emancipation is with abolitionists. By per-severance in this orthodox doctrine, and especially by a more vigorous and distinct application of it, to the great sin of our country, and invigorated by all the kindred orthodox doctrines, Dr. Cheever is now dealing death-blows upon the monster, not giving way to discouragemen nothing can be accomplished. nt, and predicting that

The following is the first of three Letters (all of which we shall publish) from ERNEST NOEL, Esq., on of the Hon, and Rev. Baptist Noel, of England respecting the Labor Question in the West Indies. They have been printed in tract form by the Ladies' Negro's Friend Society at Birmingham, having first made their appearance in the Leeds Mercury. They were written after a recent visit to the island of Ja majea, and contain much interesting information respecting the true state of things in the British West Indies, and the results of the abolition of slavery.

LABOR IN THE WEST INDIES. No. I. To the Editors of the Leeds Mercury :

GENTLEMEN,—The subject of free labor in our West India colonies has lately received considerable attention, and as there appears to be some misappre-hension in many quarters as to the real state both of the negroes and the plantations, I venture to lay

before the public a few facts. It is commonly asserted that free negroes will not work; that the price of sugar will not repay the cost of production in most of our West India colo-

I that free labor cannot compete with slave labor in these possessions without a large immigra-tion from India or China. I propose to consider these three statements as re

gards Jamaica, which, being the largest and at the same time least flourishing of the West India islands, During a visit to Jamaica last autumn, I sough

care for the causes which have red island to its present condition; and although I do not pretend to have discovered all, and indeed should hardly feel at liberty to mention some of the defects of government which may have tended to lessen its prosperity, yet I think a sufficient num-ber can be shown to explain the melancholy position in the melancholy posi of its proprietors, and to remove the idea that the ation of the slaves has been the one fertile

ancipation of the slaves has been the varieties are of all its disasters.

We will first investigate the charge that the free will first investigate the charge that the free will be said as a writer negroes will not work. It might be said, as a writer in the Times has suggested, that this would be nothing very strange, for where the inducements to a life of case and idleness are so great, and the requirements of the strange of the strange of the strange of the said strange of the ments of nature so easily supplied, it would be natural that a half civilized population should decline the labors of the sugar field. But natural as this be said that the negro has not the energy of the European, but it is far from true that he is the idle indolent being some might have been, it is not the fact. It may fairly being some would have led us to believe. Abundant proof can be afforded of this. I would point at once to several thriving plantatio maica as a convincing refutation. How is it, then, so many estates which under slavery were sending handsome returns to their recovery. me returns to their proprietors in are now uncultivated, the wners perhaps ruined, and the population gone? It may be sum ords, by saying that absenteeism, heavy mortgages, want of capital, bad management, un-just treatment of laborers, unpunctuality in paying wages, immoral conduct of overseers, want of cottages, and want of labor, have each contributed to

ng the island into its present condition. The subject of absenteeism has been so thorough ly discussed in relation to Ireland, that it is needle to say more than that its injurious effects are as plainly marked and as deeply felt in the West Indies

name several—owing to the proprietor receiving nothing from his property, the whole profits being swallowed up by a heavy mortgage, and the mortgage not being willing to invest more money or carry on the cultivation at his own risk. Such estates were not thrown out of cultivation from 'want of labor.' Others were worked entirely by borrowed

capital, paying high rates of interest; a single failure in the sugar crop would almost hopelessly in-

volve the estate in debt.

Many more have been ruined by gross mismanagement. Expensive machinery has been sent out from England, in some cases totally unfit for the purpose to which it was to be applied; in others the local managers were ignorant of its use, or refused to adopt what they considered worthless innovations. Such properties, bringing in but small and uncertain returns to their owners, have been in several cases abandand. abandoned.

On some estates there has been a real want of labor, but this in no way arising from either a want of population or the idleness of the negroes, but produced by the unjust and cruel treatment of the overseers, either during the time of apprenticeship overseers, either during the time of appropriate or in the years immediately succeeding. This is a most important fact, and as most of the agents who were then employed have since died, and the properties have very generally changed hands, it is now forgotten, and nothing is thought of but the pres-ent melancholy result, that the fields are untilled, the population departed, and what was once a scene of busy life is now sinking back into an unpeopled wilderness. During the 'apprenticeship,' not a lew which he is to be a slave at all, the locality it which he is to be held is a matter of no importance to the nation a wilderness. During the 'apprenticeship,' not a lew of the unprincipled managers of property, provoked and irritated at the thought that those whom they large, or any of its people. bad so long regarded as mere property, cattle to do their work, were soon to be as free as themselves, instead of relaxing the treatment of their partially is true, it may be a matter of little consequence to the dom or to slavery—whether her slave system shall be claimed, I have got you for two years yet, and kept within its present limits, or be permitted to exyour life shall not be worth a farthing by that time. I tend indefinitely. She has not been aroused, and in damed to madness, by a shadowy abstraction, but by at length acquired their freedom, should refuse any the consciousness that, if she lose the Territories, the

any payment in money for ten months, when a gen- tial to her continued domination over the whole couneral defection took place; the laborers refusing any longer to work for the benefit of others, sought employment for themselves on land easily to be obtained fury in view of the purpose to prevent the extension

knowledge of arithmetic being extremely limited, he constantly thought himself defrauded of his due, but her feverish desire for expansion reveals its imare these isolated cases.

want of lab present abandoned condition, I found that an attempt had been made to coerce the people, by mixing up rent and wages, charging arbitrary and exorbitant

negroes, I was informed that the gross immoralities of the overseers and bookkeepers prevented many negroes, I was informed that the gross immoralities foreign slave trade stimulated to the highest activity. The political struggle, therefore, now shaking the groes, who had become Christians, from permitting their children to work on such estates, saying it was better they should be somewhat poorer in circum-rence to 'a frivolous and impertinent question,' but is stances than degraded and corrupted, ruined for this in the nature of things—a part of 'the irrepressible

The length of this letter precludes my entering on Hence the outlawry of the Republican party in every the other branches of this subject, as I have already slave State. trespassed too long on your valuable space; but I hope to be permitted at some future time to continue out of which the state of the

e to be permitted investigation.

I remain, Gentlemen, yours obediently,
ERNEST NOEL. November 16th, 1859.

WM. S. BAILEY---CASSIUS M. CLAY.

To the Editor of the New York Tribune:

might exist, permit me to state in reply that he requested me last Fall to abandon my (our) Kentucky Free-State Platform, stating that he (they of Madison County) had adopted simply the Philadelphia son County) had adopted simply the Philadelphia and the textent, and for that reason, it has our sympathics and best wishes as against its three antagonic country. Republican Platform of 1856. So I republished said onistical and thoroughly pro-slavery rivals. platform, for the sake of unity, as we expected to vote with the Republican party in 1860, acknowledging Mr. Clay as our leader, but did not abandon our Kentucky State Platform, as he requested, for I will though that the stiffing of Kentucky state of Kentucky state Platform.

rention held in Covington At the Republican Conv on the 26th of April, 1860, Mr. Clay professed the on the 20th of April, 1000, Mr. Chay professed the same friendship he had for many years previous, and morsely to vitiate that instrument, and no party can parted with me in like manner at the close of the wardly, an unkind feeling toward me. But still it seems he went immediately home, and wrote the card

think, ridiculous before the world, and inconsistent

I have no apology to make to Mr. Clay for my but little harm. May it do as it the to brinciple, him no ill. I have always been true to principle, and trust ever to remain so. But, I must say, his and the battle carried to the gate. I have been his shield and helper, and now in a crushed condition and needy, he seeks my ruin.

No. 10, Covington, Ky., instead of Average Respectfully yours, WM. S. BAILEY.

THE WAY NORTHERN BUSINESS MEN

ARE WELCOMED IN THE SOUTH. The Utica Herald of the 21st has an account of

in the Herald :-

predilections, as is common in these days. Mr. from the North would be permitted at present to go through the State in the pursuit of their calling. This despotic command was rendered the more rigorous by facts which came to the ears of Mr. Keating and his companions. A Northern man at Aiken had been caught reading the New York Tribune, and was tarred and feathered. An old resident of Savannah who refused to join a club to supervise the opinions and conduct of citizens and strangers and

go where they list, and pursue an honest ushackled and free from such despotic surcountry. And they will do it. That is the the whole discussion in a nutshell.'

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 28, 1860.

THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE THE REPUR-LICAN PARTY, &c.

We rromised, last week, to examine the remaining postulates contained in the 'Address of the Free Constitutionalists to the People of the United States, with the Slave Power :-

Whether a man, who is confessedly to be held as property, shall be so held in one place, rather than in another? in a State, rather than in a Territory? is s frivolous and impertinent question, in which the mato him, and of little or no importance to the nation at

emancipated slaves, showed the most brutal severity, slave, whether he is held in one locality or another: emancipated staves, showed the most order states, and felt towards their wretched victims, what one of them had the courage to express. When a miscrable Christian negro by the order of a Christian dom or to slavery—whether her slave system shall be consecrated to free-dom or to slavery—whether her slave system shall be at length acquired their freedom, should relate any construction of the consciousness that, it she lose the Territories, the consciousness that, it she lose the Territories, the consciousness that, it she lose the Territories, the consciousness that, it she c the unwillingness of the masters at first to pay regu-larly and justly the wages due to their now free la-ruffian invasion of Kansas was not a wanton and gra-On one property in Hanover, no negro received tuitous outrage on her part, but deemed by her essenanother property in St. James's, six weeks of slavery beyond her present boundaries. True, and two months often elapsed without the payment within those boundaries she has much unoccupied, of wages; and at the time of settlement, the negro's and therefore unexhausted land, upon which she may which produced such discontent, that, whole families emigrating to the hills, the property had to be thrown out of cultivation for 'want of labor.' Nor new territory she can absorb, subjugate or annex, e On other properties, where a similar complaint of pecially where soil and climate are favorable to slave was adduced as the cause of their productions, is a new lease of life for her slave sysent abandoned condition, I found that an attempt tem, against which appeals to reason and conscient nts for cottages, if any in the family refused to terrible system was mightily strengthened, new blood infused into all its veins, the market price of every In conversation with some exceedingly intelligent slave materially enhanced, and the domestic and fe and the next.

The want of suitable cottages near the cane-fields wrong, liberty and despotism—the product of the lition of chattel slavery in every part of the South.

> Moreover, with the acquisition of new Territorie out of which to carve additional slave States ad libitum, comes not only a vast augmentation of value in existing slave property, but an essential and indispensable increase of political power in the hands of the slave oligarchy, to be wielded in Congress against whatever relates to the interests of the North.

If, therefore, the Republican party shall succeed Sir,—Some time since you published a card from getting the reins of government into its own hands, M. Clay, recalling his letters of commendation and preserving the Territories absolutely and beyond a peradventure from the designs of the Slave Power,

our nentucky State Flatform, as he requested, for I still thought that the citizens of Kentucky should take some State action for the final abolition of elavory among us, which, I thought, would be as consistent as it was for other States that had done so, and the immediate abolition of slavery is a matvery among us, which, I thought, would be as consistent as it was for other States that had done so, and that are now free. I think so still. remedy is worth a pound of cure': that the slave holding guarantees of the Constitution are such as onvention. I never once dreamed that he held, in- that the North ought to take disunion ground at once, in order to clear her skirts of blood-guiltiness, instead of remaining an accomplice in slaveholding where it For us Kentuckians to raise our voice against the now exists at the South; that the result of such dis 'extension' of slavery, and yet have nothing to say union must inevitably and speedily be the extinction against the evil of it in our own midst, would be, I of the slave system universally; and that to make no compromise with oppressors is to do the highest service to all classes and all interests in the land. I course, and if he has none to make to me for his, I bid him farewell. His letter, I think, will do me this connexion, as it is our constant aim to show that but little harm. May it do as little to him. I wish upon the Northern banner should be inscribed the motto, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

The next position laid down in the pamphlet under consideration is, that, of all the contending political Friends writing to me will please address Box parties, the Republican is the most thoroughly sense less, baseless, aimless, inconsistent and insincere Certainly, see are not called upon to be the defender or apologist of the Republican party; but we do not hesitate to say that such an impeachment is lacking in discrimination and justice. Should it succeed, i will be in the power of the Republican party to s The Utica Herald of the 21st has an account of erception which Mr. John H. Keating, of that the reception which Mr. John H. Keating, of that the received reception that the service of free labor and free institutions, in accordance with its platform; so city, received recently at Savannah. Mr. Kenting went to Georgia to canvass the State with a patent spring bed. He was a good Douglas Democrat, but and we trust it is not insincere. That the party is The circumstances which inconsistent, and morally condemned out of its own im to change his politics are thus set forth mouth, in resisting the extension of slavery on the ground of its being a curse and critice, and then 'He sailed from New York on the 7th for Savan- supporting it where it exists and as it exists by connah, as has been stated. On the voyage a canvass stitutional agreement, is what we are constantly af of the passengers was taken to learn their political firming; nevertheless, heterogeneous as it is in its firming; nevertheless, heterogeneous as it is in its productions, as is common in these days. Mr. Keating announced himself for Douglas; one of the passengers, a slaveholder, voted for Lincoln, and the prominent supporters, it so speaks and so acts as to rest were for Breckinridge and Bell. Arrived at cause the slave-traffickers to gnash their teeth, and Savannah, and having located himself at his hotel, the entire body of Southern ruffians to desire to ad-Mr. Keating and several persons from New York minister lynch law to all who are connected with it. were sent for by the authorities, and questioned as to their business, their residence, and their destina-tion. They were acquitted of any suspicion of being abolition emissaries or distributors of incendiary graves of his relatives in that section ! What if Mr. ments. But they were notified that they must Seward, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Burlingame by the return of the steamer which brought Mr. Hale, or any other leading Republican, should them thither. No pedlers or sellers of patent rights presume to advocate Mr. Lincoln's election at Richmond, Savannah, Mobile, or New Orleans? In all

Savannah who refused to join a club to supervise the opinions and conduct of citizens and strangers, and was therefore suspected of lacking zeal for the punishment of offenders against slavery, was compelled to abandon his business and migrate, to escape personal indignity and violence.

'So warned and commanded, Mr. Keating found it necessary to leave the State to which his business had called him. Rather than return home, he determined to go on to Louisiana, and had taken passage for New Orleans, when the captain of the very lover of his country. Hence, their intention is to defeat him. They will leave no stone unturned to accomplish that object; and what is more, they know the captain of the very lover of his country. Hence, their intention is to defeat him. They will leave no stone unturned to accomplish that object; and what is more, they will find no less obstacles there in his way. It only remained for him to return to a State where men from whatever part of this or any other country may go where they list, and pursue an honest

Hence, we cannot agree with the fourth proposition jury decided his character not to be worth one cent. in this Address, that 'the great object should be to Such is the character of some of those who d procure the defeat of the Republicans,' and let either the object of the abolition movement to put up or to put down any political party as such; but, holding the scales of justice impartially, it is to create such a moral and religious sentiment against slavery as shall mould all parties and sects to effect its over-

Finally, the Address recommends that a new party should be organized on the basis of the unconstitutionality of slavery wherever it exists. We deem it Its operation, like that of the steam-engine in the a waste of time and effort to do this-an historical mint, is likely to be quiet and noiseless when most absurdity, and an unwarrantable assumption. We effective. The perfect success of tyranny in Warsaw are not only willing to concede, but entertain no was established at the moment when 'order' wa doubt whatever, that the American people have in- said to reign there. The show plantations at the telligently understood, correctly interpreted, and con- South-those to which visitors like parson Adams are sistently applied their own Constitution, ever since its invited to see the 'patriarchal' character of slavery, adoption till now, in its relation to slavery; and and its adaptation to the best interests of the slavetherefore we shall not try to convict them of igno- are those in which resistance or escape is felt to be rance or delusion in this matter, but, taking them at hopeless for the present, and the slave has no alternatheir word, and pointing to their pro-slavery deeds, tive except to die under the lash or put on the appearshall continue to show them their guilt, and call upon ance of acquiescence in his condition, and say 'yes them to repent, by annulling their 'covenant with to all the villanous leading questions by which death,' and instituting a new government based upon master's visitors extract their evidence of his 'perfect universal liberty.

WILLIAM S. BAILEY, ESQ. impartial freedom is now in this city, hoping to re- tar, to give it coherence. The fraud is most enormous ceive such 'material aid' as will enable him to re- and most unblushing, in the pious defences of slavery sume the publication of his fearless and well-con- and in the statements, generally, respecting it, made ducted paper, ' The Free South,' in Newport, Ken- by the organs of piety. Such is the article from the tucky. Again and again has his printing-office been Journal of Commerce headed 'Southern Aggression,' destroyed by the mob - the lives of himself and which will be found on our first page in the 'Refuge family put in imminent peril-and every device of of Oppression.' satanic, pro-slavery malignity resorted to, in order to The preface to this article assumes the slave's privasuppress his paper, and drive him from the State. tion of liberty to be the same in kind with the con But he has maintained his ground with heroic cour- cessions made by every man in society, of some fracage, martyr-like endurance, and noble self-sacrifice; tional parts of his individual liberty and convenience and he will still keep at his post, provided he can ob- for the common good. The apprentice or journeyman tain new printing materials for those the mob threw in a carpenter's shop is not allowed to throw his lightinto the Ohio river. These he ought to have without ed cigar among the shavings. The truckman, in a delay. Help him generously, friends of humanity!

Free State Printing Presses.

From the Cincinnati Commercial of July 30, 1860. RICH DEVELOPMENT-THE CASE OF CHARLES WAG- the slave shall have perfect freedom of removal, with GONER. Attention is directed to the card from Dr. his father and mother, his wife and children, we shall J. Q. A. Foster, of Newport, Ky., under the head of be able to judge of his contentment. Until then, 'Personal,' in our advertising columns. It apper-tains to certain matters interesting to himself, to Sheriff Helm of Campbell county, and to the public. d to the public. herent i Dr. Foster tells who shared with him the money' which was realized in the sale of the kidnap-ped negro, Charles Waggoner. The card requires no comment. It is sworn to, and it speaks for itself:

NEWPORT, Ky., July 29, 1860. My apology for giving publicity to the following facts concerning some of the acts of H. D. Helm is, that I consider the manner in which he has treated me has absolved me from any obligation longer to shield am or his doings from the public view. I made a verbal statement of some of these matters, a find when the statement of some of these matters, a few days since, to some of my friends, and I should not now have published them, had I not heard that he has, when I was not present, denied the truth of

him for office ever since he first ran for one, and now, because I was unwilling to go around endorsing his action in betraying his constituents at Charleston and Baltimore, he makes, as he declares, a personal mat-

Some two years since, this H. D. Helm originated a written compact to abide the will of a majority in all cases; and it was their ness to see that the conventions in the county were packed so as to insure the nomination of the persons previously agreed on, and they were pledged to stand by each other, and keep one another in office. This clique is still in existence, nearly all the members are now in office, and all, except perhaps two, are sup-porting the same candidates for office at the coming

Any one desirous of seeing who were members of this body will find the compact in possession of Helm, in his own hand-writing, and his is the first signature to it, unles he has very recently disposed of it.

Again, every one in this community knows that I purchased the colored boy known as Charles Wagner, who was sold by the Sheriff about the first of chase; yet such was the fact, and we were to share equally the profits of the transaction. This will acne things that before were not understood

J. Q. A. FOSTER.

STATE OF KENTUCKY, CAMPBELL Co. St. Sworn July, 1860.

I. B. PAYNE, J. P. C. C.

We learn from the Free South of August 20th. that this J. Q. A. Foster, Postmaster at Newport, whereby their condition could be improved, would be was one of the leading men in mobbing Mr. Bailey's an injury to Northern employers, and would be reoffice, and advertised in some of the Cincinnati papers sented and opposed as such :-finallyas one of 'the respectable citizens of Newport.' And we learn from the same paper that Sheriff Helm, an industrial education of the negro race: that it whom Postmaster Foster exposes, above, absented himself from the mobbing of Mr. Bailey's office, that that word! that it promotes industry, in the ordinary Foster and other respectable citizens might accomplish the destruction of the Free South without official hindrance The following is an extract from Sheriff Helm's

reply to Postmaster Foster :-

NEWPORT, Ky., July 30. To the Editor of the Com-To the Editor of the Commercial:

J. Q. A. Foster, Postmaster at this place, in a card
dated on yesterday, and published by you to-day. makes certain charges against me which it become necessary I should notice, only because his statement may be read by persons who do not know that indi-vidual, and might construe my silence into an admisidusl, and might construe my silence into an admis-ion of his false charges.

J. Q. A. Foster prefaces his statement by an apolo-

tion of that once gentleman, but now almost de-mented inebriate, in the fact that he is not responsi-tractiveness. ble for his statement.

sen leader of the mob, and directed the attack upon announced, and probably all are already taken up. Mr. B's office, and consequent destruction. After this 'The Fraternity' (an Association for recreat Circuit Court.

face of this, he persisted in sitting to try the case, their cooperation is made a blessing to the community.

ed that the Bank charter granted by the Legislature ley, a gentleman whose active and constant as

It is too palpable for denial, that the Republican Bank." One of its conductors, (J. A. Piner,) party embraces almost every man at the North who says Mr. Bailey, was a leading man in the mob. He anxious to prevent the further extension of slave- was published by Mr. Bailey, some years ago, as a ry; whereas all the other parties are made up of swindler and man of bad character, for which he sued those who are eager and venomous for the suppres- Mr. B., setting his damages at \$20,000; but when the sion of the anti-slavery agitation in all its phases. case was tried in the Covington Circuit Court, the Such is the character of some of those who de nounce Mr. Bailey, and then, to injure him abroad, of the other parties win the victory! For it is not get themselves published as the 'respectable citizens

DECEIT OF THE APOLOGISTS FOR SLA

Slavery is carried on by force. The defence slaveholding is carried on by fraud.

The force which keeps men enslaved is not neces sarily accompanied by noise, open conflict, or tumult. contentment.

The statements made in justification of slavery con sist mainly of direct and enormous falsehood, though This indomitable, true-hearted, untiring friend of a little truth is generally mixed in, like hair with mor-

city, is required to keep on the right side of the street, and forbidden to keep on the left. Their natural lib-Character of a Postmaster, and Sheriff of Newport, erty is, to this extent, abridged. But their consent to Ky., by their own showing .- Advocates of mobbing this abridgment is shown by their remaining in the particular society in question, when they are perfectly free to go into some other, or into solitude. When to a classification of his bondage with the limitations inherent in free society is one of the most monstrous of

> The body of this article proceeds to assume, as no only true but obvious, the following utterly false posi-

That a removal of the restraints of slavery would

leave the slaves absolutely without restraint:—

That the motive for holding the slave in bondage is virtuous horror of indolence felt by the master :-That the negro has a 'constitutional laziness' entirely different from the indisposition of the white man to work at unprofitable labor :-

That Abolitionism demands of Southern landholders a gratuitous housing, clothing and feeding of neome of my statements.

I have, as is well known, been a firm supporter of groes, from birth to maturity—a harboring of them all their lives for nothing :-That the provisions of the slave-code are designed,

primarily, for the benefit of the slave :-That they are really suited to promote the welfare of the slave :-

That these arrangements are a voluntary beneficen the part of slaveholders :-That they are also an imperative social necessity

the only remedy against worse evils :-That the slave-code requires kind usage of the

That the master actually bestows upon him kind

That civilization and industry in the South requir

the continuance of slavery:—

That bankruptcy and anarchy would be insured.

June last; but it has not been known until now, that the Sheriff was in partnership with me in that purchase; yet such was the fact, and we were to share equally the profits of the transaction. This will acqually the profits of the transaction. This will acthat the intimation, in speech, writing or printing, of his right to seek for himself an improved condition,

is also Northern aggression :-That the forbearance of the South to circulate 'inbefore me, by J. Q. A. Foster, this 29th day of cendiary cuts and placards,' inciting the Northern laborer against his employer, is a benevolent and beneficent forbearance :-

That help sent from the South to Northern laborer published by Wm. Shreve Bailey, at Newport, Ky., who need help, or suggestions to them of methods

That the existing system of slavery is fairly called is meant for education, in the ordinary meaning of meaning of that word! that its jurisdiction include onlynegroes! and that the laziness of 'free' white men is harmless, working no such evils, and needing no such interference, as that of the slaves, including those who-ns numerous advertisements in the Southern papers tell us-try to pass themselves off for

THE PRATERNITY LECTURES. The series of Lectures established by . The Fra

ternity' of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston has for two years past been far the best, as well as the cheapest, which has been offered to the Boston public; gy which could have been better made for him by those who have witnessed the gradual self-destruction of that once gentleman, but now almost dearly hour, have given the highest proof of their at-

The programme for the present season (which has If the testimony of these men is worth anything heretofore appeared in the Liberator) is not inferior in against each other, they are both bad characters. If excellence, or in variety, to either of its predecessors their word is of no account, they are unworthy of no- It comprises thirteen lectures, the first to be given by Charles Sumner on the first Monday in October. The Again: Mr. J. R. Hallam (not Helm) was the cho-tickets were actively called for as soon as they were

chivalrous fete of Mr. Hallam, the Governor of Ken-tucky appointed him Magistrate to fill a vacancy in ly excellence of every kind, composed of such mem-Newport. When the Free South was revived, on the bers of the 28th Congregational Society as wish t appearance of the first issue, this Mr. Hallam caused join it,) is one of many monuments of the high and the arrest of Mr. Bailey, charging him with issuing an noble influence exercised by Theodore Parker upon incendiary paper, and, sitting as one of the two Jus- those around him. It was formed, not at his request, tices of the examining Court, held him in the sum of but by the spontaneous action of those who had been \$1000, to appear at the next November term of the accustomed to hear him preach, and to feel the force of his oft repeated declaration that the business of On the same day of the arrest, before the trial, the human being in this world was to use, develop 'Squire Hallam expressed an opinion against the right and improve all parts of the nature which God has to suffer the publication of the Free South, and in favor given bim. With the increased numbers of this Soof prosecuting Mr. B. Upon this ground, together with ciety has come a widening of the sphere of their his being the leader of the mob as above named, operations, and this series of Lectures, the richest in Mr. Bailey made oath that he did not believe Mr. noble and suggestive thoughts ever given to the peo-Hallam would or could do him justice: but, in the ple of Boston, is only one of the methods by which

and of course decided that Mr. Bailey was guilty of The last weekly meeting of the Fraternity was made publishing an incendiary paper.

Again, says the Free South, 'Let it be remember- of some tokens of their regard to Mr. John R. Manlast winter to certain parties in Newport, was on con- gratuitously given, have been most helpful towards dition that the Free South newspaper be destroyed.

Hence it has the name of the "Mob-Law Charter also of the 28th Congregational Society, from the comfourth page, is from the pen of T. W. Higginson.

mencement of each. These gifts, which we a surprise as well as a pleasure to the sisted of beautiful pictures, valuable by them Ripley and Dana's New Cyclopad them rupley was course of publication, of which but ten man about a third part of the whole, have yet app and a most elegant and commodious chair various convenient modifications, and suit mote the comfort of Mr. Manley's invalid well as his own. After the presentation propriate acknowledgement) of these articles Praternity meeting, they were carried in press to the house of Mr. Manley, where the long, them were invited to another festive merting of agreeable character.-c. K. W.

· SOUTHERN LITERATURE!

The Journal of Commerce, seeming to think the The Journal of Commerce, seeming to think the Southern Literature needs to be 'cracked an' the an article enumerating its recent and pres triumphs, commencing with the declar Southern mind is prolific of books,'

Since we have often to notice deficiperfections in the South, it is but cand mention of those departments in which she is tinguished and preëminent. We therefore print, low, the entire catalogue of works actually no within the year,' and set forth under the title of 'Southern Literature' by the Journal Commerce. Our space does not suffice for the all tives with which the writer profusely ! books and their authors.

The books in question are all novels, with the lowing titles, namely :-

Beulah. Rutledge, The Actress in High Life, The Household of Bouven

All these, the exultant writer remarks, supporter his fact with a note of admiration- are from the of Southern women! · And,' he proceeds, 'the chronicle does not no

here.' We should hope not, after such a blowing, trumpets at the beginning. In fact, he mentititles of several other books. But as none of it are yet before the public, the writer claiming that some are in press, some about to be pull and others about to be written, we postpone the mainder of the catalogue to another opport

COOL AS A CUCUMBER

Readers of the Liberator may remember the the Annual Meeting of the American Board of Co missioners for Foreign Missions a year ago, in the of Philadelphia, the efforts of Dr. Cheever to body were opposed, not only by the accuste tors of that policy, but by an English clere Rev. Dr. Waddington of London, who el to be in our country. On his return to Engle was called to account for this treachery to w and humanity. He replied by gross calumnie the abolitionists, both in London newspapers the Observer and Independent in this con put to open shame by the exposure of his first tion with the most thorough clerical defends slavery (for pecuniary purposes) during the whole his American tour.

The visit of Dr. Cheever to England has comoving the clerical opposers of anti-slavery, there as well here, to adopt new tactics; since their cale against the friends of the American Anti-Sie Society would be as destitute of plausibility a truth if applied to Dr. Cheever, and they must th fore confine themselves to countermining, instr directly opposing him. The Independent has for time been diligent in this work, and its efforts men aided by a letter from the very Dr. Waddington sh referred to, who is called by that paper (20th int. an English emancipationist.'

In this letter, Dr. Waddington represents the ception of Dr. Cheever by the Congregational lea in London as a 'cautious' one. He says-'The were evidently unprepared to fraternize with the risonian school, though ready to welcome the A of America'-and he names Rev. Dr. Campbell, George Smith, and Rev. John Stoughton, as

who particularly displayed the cauti Dr. Waddington's letter, however, is esp noteworthy for the refreshing coolness with which classes himself among 'earnest friends of ens tion '-laments the apathy of the British public up find himself greatly disappointed in the influence of English abolitionists-finds it unseed able that a cause so sacred and so inspiring sho have been 'left to its present leaders'-does it member (!) an anti-alayery meeting of any imp there within the last ten years-comple little manœuvres to excite public notice, and the fire lous acts of annoyance to religious societies which he probably means the exposure of fabe tenders like himself, and Dr. Pomroy, and Dr. lar Stow, and Dr. Murray,) -and finally admits, with ceitful mock-humility, . You are ahead of will mmeasurably.' 'Even your negroes surpas so the eloquence with which they assert their own right

and in them those of our common humanity." One great advantage of Dr. Cheever's visit to B land will be the necessity that will thereby be in upon time-servers like Dr. Waddington, of g into line with the anti-slavery movement. At present they throw in its way what obstruction they can when the tide turns, those very persons will make themselves conspicuous in moving with it -c. L. W.

New TEACTS. Two other valuable traces have ju been published by the American Anti-Slavery Socie ty, in connection with the series already given to the

public. These are-1. 'Testimonies of Capt. John Brown at Harpet Ferry, with his Address to the Court. He, being dead yet speaketh.' These Testimonies have been select from various Letters written by Capt. Brown, while lying under sentence of death for his brave and de interested efforts in behalf of the imbruted slaves it Virginia. They make a tract of 16 pages, and & serve to be read and pondered by the whole America

2. . The Patriarchal Institution, as described by Members of its own Family. Compiled by L. Math Child.' This makes a tract of 55 pages, and furni a compendious and admirable text-book for all ad as are actively engaged in the Anti-Slavery strugg The first chapter is entitled . Southern Prophetic contained in the warning language of Jefferson, William Pinkney, Patrick Henry, Luther Marin, to respecting the dangerous and destructive tendent of slavery. The second chapter presents the Soul ern fulfilment of those prophecies. Chapter this Southern statements of the harpiness of slate Chapter fourth- Southern proofs that slaves are tented and happy.' Chapter fifth - Southern P of the chivalrous and high-minded character pro by slavery.' Chapter sixth- Southern profit if slavery is a parental relation.' Chapter seven Southern proofs that the moral condition of slart better than that of Northern laborers,' eighth- Southern prospects for Northern labo and mechanics.' Chapter ninth- Southern is mony concerning the effects of slavery on Su Chapter tenth- Southern opinions concernit extension of slavery.' Chapter eleventh - Soul and Northern Democrats now leagued for the extension sion of slavery '-with concluding renarks by Mi

The admirable paper upon THEODORS PARL which we have copied from the October number

ERN LITERATURE

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er upon Theodore PARKER om the October number o which may be found on our en of T. W. Higginson.

SEPTEMBER 28. PROPOSITIONS RESPECTING SLAVERY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

1st, GENERAL. (a) The basis, the primal object, of all constitu tional law, is natural justice. To secure this is the universally admitted object of all human government, (b) All legislators and jurists acknowledge themsolves bound, both in making, interpreting and applying constitutions and statutes, to conform to the itted principles of natural justice, and, as far as sible, to prevent their violation.

(c) All great social wrongs spring up gradually, and continue to exist, in opposition to natural justice; most of them by sufferance, in opposition to the acknowledged principles of natural justice where they do exist. Not a few are suffered to be continued, and even protected, while both the moral sense of the emmunity and the enacted constitutional law are opposed to them. Such was the case with slavery under the British government in England, until the comerset decision by Lord Mansfield; and subsequently in the American Colonies, subject to the same constitutional English law. Such was also the case ith slavery in Massachusetts, from the adoption of its Constitution until it was officially pronounced unconstitutional, and so abolished in the State.

(d) History, as well as common sense, teaches that great social wrongs are never voluntarily abandoned or sholished, while the people are ignorant that they are wrongs; that when they are seen to be such, however clearly, they are seldom and with much difficulty abolished, while the fundamental law of the land is supposed to favor them; but, when both natural justice and the constitutional law are seen to be sed to them, they are usually very easily and readily abolished. Moral conviction is a great power opposed to social wrong; but moral and legal conviction combined against any social wrong is a power doubly great-irresistible.

(a) From its first introduction to the present time, has not been enacted the first syllable of law for the establishment of slavery in this country, either in the Colonies or in the States. This proposition is made on the assertion of Senator Mason of Virginia, Hon. Mr. Gurney of Alabama, and other able advocates of slavery, as well as that of many others op-

(b) The Common Law decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case, declaring that slavery is an institution so odious that nothing, except positive law, can make its existence legal, applied as legitimately to slavery in the British Colonies of America as to slavery on the British islands of Europe, and made slavery illegal here as well as there.

(c) The Declaration of Independence was virtually proclamation of liberty to every slave in the land. was, in fact, the fundamental and constitutional law of the Confederated Colonies during the revolution, and, therefore, made slavery illegal, no matter what its previous condition. No matter what the people who adopted it meant by it, its language is sufciently clear, and its legal force is unavoidable. So the Constitution of Massachusetts, adopting the same language in its preamble, was subsequently applied to the abolition of slavery in the State, without any sort of inquiry as to what the slaveholding or nonslaveholding portion of the community intended or thought when they adopted it. When jurists and the courts are honest, and when great human rights are at stake, and the language of the statute is clear enough, they never ask 'what the framers in-

letter of the Constitution recognizes slavery as a legally existing institution, or that it was the intention, either of the framers, or of the people who adopted it, to make a legal recognition of slavery in such a sense as to establish slavery legally where it previously had no legal existence. But if the Constitution makes any legal recognition of slavery in any of the States, then it there establishes slavery, cause slavery had there previously no legal existence. Nor has it since been established by any law in any of the States. Hence, proposition

establishing its legality, and therefore establishing

(f) The just and acknowledged rules of interpre itself. 'There is not a word in the Constitution of the eternal prohibition. United States apparently bearing upon the condition of slavery, nor is there a provision but would be susceptible of practical execution, if there was not a lave in the land.' - [John Quincy Adams.]

3d. The history of the Constitution-its powersits adoption-the people-what they thought of it, and intended by it-the practice of the government, &c., &c .- these things have no legitimate bearing upon the legal meaning we are justly and legally bound to accent from the language of the Constitution itself, as it was manifestly the purpose of all to express their final intention and meaning in the anambiguous words of the instrument, and at once and forever exclude all such outside influence, preserving their then expressed intention through all time. If a few of the framers intended to use ambiguous or circuitous language-and we know they lid so intend-for the sake of shielding a great and at the time almost universally admitted wrong-be t remembered to their shame-we have no right to bring a worse shame upon ourselves by supposing that all the people who adopted the Constitution so intended, and, by violating all acknowledged principles of just legal interpretation in construing that ambiguous language to favor the great wrong, and so perpetuate it in our day, when it has become tenfold

But a few propositions as to the framers :-(a) Some of them 'thought it wrong to admit into the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

(b) In the famous importation clause, the word slaves was unanimously objected to by vote of the

(c) In another clause, 'the word "servitude" was truck out, and "service" unanimously inserted-the former being thought to express the condition of slaves, and the latter the obligation of free persons.'

(d) Of the famous fugitive clause, 'the term "lerally" was struck out, and the words, under the laws thereof, inserted after the word "State," in compliance with the wish of some who thought the term egal equivocal, and favoring the idea that slavery

was legal in a moral view.' In the Virginia Convention for its ratification, Mr. George Mason said- There is no clause in the Constitution that will prevent the Northern and Eastern States from meddling with our whole property of that kind. . . There ought to be a clause in the Constitution to secure us that property. . . There is no clause

in the Constitution to secure it.' Mr. Henry, in the same Convention, said :-

'Among ten thousand implied powers which they ongress) may assume, they may, if we be engaged war, liberate every one of your slaves, if they are; and this must and will be done by men, a please; and this must and will be done by men, a majority of whom have not a common interest with you. . Another thing will contribute to bring this about :-- slavery is detested-we feel its fatal effects—we deplore it, with all the pity of humanity. Let all these considerations, at some future period, press with full force on the minds of Congress; let the urbanity, which I trust will distinguish America, and the necessity of national defence, let all these things operate on their minds, they will search that I about the present of the prese aper, and see if they have the power of manumis-sion. And have they not, sir? Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May

they not think that these call for the abolition of slavery? May they not pronounce all slaves free, and will they not be warranted in that power? There is

often repeated assumption that, at the time of its can discover in its ranks a sufficient number of men, adoption, nobody thought it gave Congress power to or women, to nominate therefor.

Henry and George Mason the only persons who held slight in the way of an organization was effected. these views of the Constitution? No! we could But it has proved much more successful in demo name many more. But, we repeat, all these outside strating the wisdom and discriminating judgment of not necessarily forbid.

CAPE COD CONVENTION.

at 2 o'clock, P. M. Capt. Gilbert Smith was chosen the organization of a party of action. Chairman, and Francis Hinckly and Edwin Coombs | The Convention was held, and failed to attract the

er, Nancy L. Howes, Nathaniel Robbins, and Watson Of the eight advertised speakers, four only a

sented the following resolutions :-

2. Resolved, That the American Union, being a reasons for so doing. the war-cry of the Abolitionists, 'No union with the movement.

sarily and inevitably the foe of impartial freedom, with none at all, and with secretaries pro tem.

the bondmen of the South. tation of all statute law require that, if possible, if upon the soil of Massachusetts should be as revolting the language be irresistibly clear, and unsusceptible of to the moral sense of the people as it is disgraceful to and Mr. Higginson.

pillar and ground of truth, the light of the world, into this organization that Mr. Foster has hereto-and the salt of the earth, then the great mass of the religious organizations of this country, claiming to be A large part of the business of this new party. darkness and corruption, American Slavery.

Met in the evening, at 7 o'clock.

ing speeches to a late hour. Adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning.

Adjourned to 2 o'clock, P. M.

the friends of the slave, as were the previous sessions. entire success, and when it appears that his now tion of the series, and proceeded to make a powerful tion that the courts have no right or power to conadventure the importance of the resolution, and the to the letter of the Constitution which he now insist with a most thrilling appeal against the terrible is its own entire refutation; the wisdom of this course plague of Southern slavery. plague of Southern slavery.

should be, for 'is,' at the suggestion of Mr. Hey. tingly published his call in full, and kept its notice wood, to meet the objection raised by Mr. Remond standing in the columns from the first. in the morning, the whole series were unanimously But although he complained often of this omissic

Adjourned sine die. EZEKIEL THACHER, Chairman.

FRANCIS HINCKLEY, Secretary.

LECTURES BY MRS. C. H. DALL. In addition to the movement. her other valuable lectures, we understand that Mrs. Mr. Foster attempted to prove the charge of Mr. Dall has prepared three new lectures on 'Law,' in Garrison having called this meeting a farce, by asaddition to the one she has written for the Fraterni- serting that the Liberator had called the meeting ty Course. Lyceum committees, in completing their the Gerrit Smith party, at Syracuse, a farce, and as programme, should remember to include her in their this meeting was in sympathy with that, and auxili-

THE POLITICAL ANTI-SLAVERY CON-VENTION AT WORCESTER WORCESTER, Sept. 22, 1860.

no ambiguous implication or Logical Deduction.

The paper speaks to the point. They have the Power, in clear, unequivocal terms, and will clear-friend S. S. Foster to organize a new political party on an anti-slavery basis culminated in a Convention This opinion as to the Constitution, and the power in this city on Wednesday and Thursday of this week; of the Federal Government to abolish slavery under which has come and gone, and the Foster party is it, thus expressed at the time by slaveholders them-organized, and will probably be in the field with its selves, proves the utter fabity and nonsense of the candidates for the various political offices, when it

Mr. Foster's movement and this Convention hav abolish slavery in the States.

Mr. Foster's movement and this Convention have

Mr. Spooner himself does not go beyond this asserproved something of a success, in the fact that a Contion of Patrick Henry of Virginia; and were Patrick vention was held, a platform adopted, and something

expressions of opinions and intentions have no sort of the members and friends of the American Anti-Slaegitimate bearing upon the meaning of the instru- very Society, in their non-acceptance of Mr. Foster's oft ment itself. That is, strictly, a legal instrument, and proffered resolutions affirming that 'the time has fulwe are bound to construe it agreeably to the just rules ly come for the organization' of such a party, or that of legal interpretation, which require us to save libof the exigencies of our cause imperiously demand of erty and all natural right, if the expressed terms do such an organization, or that 'a wise fidelity to the J. H. F. | cause of the slave' makes it our duty to initiate such a party. These resolutions Mr. Foster has urged us to adopt, affirming that the day of talk was past-The Cape Cod Anti-Slavery Convention assembled we want acts now: the people were converted, and in Exchange Hall, Harwich, on Saturday, Sept. 22d, only waited an opportunity to march in crowds to

attention of large numbers of the converted and Mr. Charles C. Burleigh was the first speaker. He anxious people, or to show any great array of able or made one of his very ablest, most logical and splendid prominent men or women on its side. Mr. Pierefforts, to show that our movement is founded upon pont, the President of a previous Convention, and justice alone, and by the power of justice and truth whose name is appended to the call for this one, was not here; he was detained by business. Mr. Ste-The following persons were chosen a Business Com-phenson, Mr. Foster's right hand man and strong remittee :- C. C. Burleigh, E. H. Heywood, and Z. H. liance, being detained by business, sent a letter, recommending the support of the Republican candidate Financial Committee-J. H. Robbins, Alice Thach- for Governor, Mr. Andrew.

B. Kelley.

Deared; one of whom,—Frederick Douglass,—took

Mr. Heywood, from the Business Committee, pre
Mr. Foster's view of the Constitution, and seemed to ented the following resolutions:—

work very well with him, save that Mr. Douglass
1. Resolved, That since our first duty in relation to a sin against God, and a crime against man, is the Another, -Mr. Higginson, -was in the Convention a immediate repentance and abandonment of it; and short time, and said that he thought the argument since the incidents of a social evil can be removed for a pro-slavery construction of the Constitution was only by a removal of the evil itself; the issue of the quite weak, and the argument for the anti-slavery American Anti-Slavery Society is still, as heretofore, construction nearly as weak; and, on the whole, he not with the extension of slavery, the Dred Scott de- was glad of the excellence of the Republican nomicision, the Fugitive Slave Bill, or the domestic or nations for President and Governor, and intended, for foreign slave trade, but with the natural and exhaust- himself, to go for them. A third,-Dr. Cutter,less source of all these abominations, as established did not seem to believe the anti-slavery construction and sustained by State law, and intrenched within of the Constitution at all, but avowed his readiness to the Constitution, the slave system-of which it de- go for a party which should say that the Constitumands the immediate and unconditional abolition as tion was anti-slavery, and that they would have it so, the duty of the master, the right of the slave, and any way, or for a party that should propose to amend the only relief from those outcrying evils which vex the Constitution so as to make it anti-slavery, or for a and convulse our nation, and whose continued ex- party that would take both positions! The fourth,istence is the utter subversion alike of liberty, law, Lucy Stone,-flatly repudiated the entire propositions of Mr. Foster, and, in a brief speech, gave her

confederacy between slave and free States, in which the latter are implicated in all the guilt of slaveholding, and bound under oath to recapture the slaves if ment; but the main talking was done by Mr. Foster they escape, and crush them with the whole federal and Mr. Douglass, who were the orators of the occapower if they revolt, every friend of impartial liberty sion. E. D. Draper of Hopedale, and Joseph A. should promptly repudiate it as a bold and impious Howland of this city, made brief criticisms upon the conspiracy against justice and humanity, and raise positions and avowals of the exponent speakers of

The masses were very feebly represented, the at-3. Resolved, That while we regard the Republican party as the outgrowth of the anti-slavery movement, the spoils of this thirty years' war' upon sla- at most some two to three hundred. Few of these very-its treacherous and unholy alliance with slave- were from out of town, and but a limited number holders, slave-traders and slave-breeders, its advo- appearing to sympathize fully with the movement; cacy and support of Abraham Lincoln for President, only some six, certainly not more than twelve, apwho endorses all the pro-slavery compromises of the pearing to vote on the adoption of the platform and Constitution as expounded by Clay and Webster, and resolutions. On account of the small number of the infamous black laws of his own State; and its friends present, no permanent organization of the cruel and remorseless pledge to allow and compel four meeting was made; but it existed comfortably with million slaves to perish in their chains, make it neces. the aid of various temporary chairmen, sometimes

(e) The Constitution cannot recognize slavery to be a legally existing institution, except in itself, thereby Northern voter who would save his own soul from Douglass, some half a dozen voted to ratify the Syrablood-guiltiness, or lift the yoke of oppression from cuse nominations of Smith and McFarland for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, and yet neglected 4. Resolved, That the continuance of slave-hunting to ratify Mr. Andrew's nomination for Governor of

any other construction, does not demand it, no self- the high religious character and matchless heroism of Resolutions were adopted, and a committee of corevident truth, no natural right shall be violated; and, our ancestry, and is recreant to every sentiment of jus- respondence chosen, looking to the formation of a ently, that no such requirement can be found tice, humanity and freedom; and we pledge our un- 'National Political Education Society,' for the pur within any statute by any aid foreign to the letter tiring exertion to secure a law for its immediate and pose of preparing the people to join this 'Union Democratic party.' By which it would seem that there is not that entire preparation of the masses to rush

> Christian churches, are unworthy of the name, inas- if indeed it will not be its first duty,-would appear, much as they give, some directly and some indirect. from the speeches of Mr. Foster, to be the abolition ly, efficient support to that system of falsehood, of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which he represented to be strangely but squarely in his way, and by its formidable opposition had hindered the C. L. Remond and E. H. Heywood occupied the movement heretofore, and kept the abolitionists away time in the evening, holding the audience by thrillhe described, on being questioned, to consist of the Society's unwillingness to discuss the questions with him at their meetings, the omission of the Standard SUNDAY MORNING. On the assembling of the Con- and Liberator to publish the list of expected attract vention, Ezekiel Thacher was chosen Chairman.
>
> The resolutions were read again, and a lively dis-favorable word in behalf of the Convention-Mr. tive speakers, and their further omission to speak cussion at once sprung up on the phraseology of the Garrison characterizing it as a farce in the Liberator. 4th of the series, participated in by C. L. Remond, and Mr. Phillips calling it, at its spring meeting it C. C. Burleigh, — Doane and E. H. Heywood.
>
> The discussion was animated and interesting,
>
> Mr. Heywood then made a speech upon the Dis-

> union doctrine, which was keen, lucid, eloquent, and to take as a matter of considerable grief, especially a he had affirmed that he had an entirely new view of At the close of Mr. Heywood's speech, the question to argue in its behalf. But when it is tion of finance came up, and was briefly but perti- recollected that Mr. Foster himself, during most of nently spoken to by C. L. Remond, while the Com- the time of the last few years of his connection with mittee circulated through the hall, and took the the American Society, declined to discuss this point, freewill offerings of the people, which amounted to and when he did discuss it, used precisely the same arguments which would now be needed to meet his present position, and used them with unexampled The afternoon meeting was opened by a song from potency, and to his own and others' conviction with Mr. Burleigh then brought forward the fifth resolu- 'new' and original proposition consists of the affirmaspeech upon the fourth, demonstrating beyond a per- strue the Constitution, which is so directly contrary duty of us all to work for the proposed law-ending on upholding, that a mere statement of the position The Convention during the day was crowded to omission of the papers to publish his proffered list of names he admitted might have been in consequence In the evening, a large and attentive audience as. of their non-reception of them, as he confessed he did sembled, and listened through another long session to not mail them till the last mail before their going to addresses from Mr. Remond, Mr. Heywood, Mrs. press, and a little delay of the post would explain the Bertha Chase, and Sylvanus Jagger.
>
> After inserting in the fourth resolution the words charitable conclusion, as both papers had unhesitawhole, which it was suggested to him was the more

> as affecting the numbers of the Convention, yet it The Convention was a decided success, and fully would seem to have been a very providential occurup to the many previous ones which have made old rence; for had the people been attracted, by his ad-Barnstable the Banner County of the Commonwealth. vertised list of speakers, to the Convention, expectin they were all to support Mr. Foster's new party, they would have been sadly disappointed, if they had not felt imposed on, by finding only half the list of speakers present, and only one of these in sympathy with

> > ary to it, the characterization applied to this. But

table powers of sarcasm to caricature its positions and measures. At one time, in urging the support of this new movement, he said that it was the only organization that proposed the abolition of slavery.

On the drought—whole families with nothing to est-

stitutional argument, confined himself to a brief review of some of the sophistries and falsifications of history whereon Mr. Douglass had based his constitutional argument, and took occasion to say, in sustaining the position and character of the American Webb of Dublin :-Anti-Slavery Society, that when Mr. Douglass asserted that the abolition of slavery was not the object or purpose of that Society, he made a false assertion, From Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Liverpool Eng., and one that he knew to be false. Whereupon Mr. Foster called to order. The temporary Chairman Foster called to order. The temporary Chairman 1st, 1861.

Prom Mrs. Wicksteed, Hafod, Wales, to Jan. mentary nor pretty, and Mr. Douglass thought that mentary nor pretty, and Mr. Douglass thought that lst, 1861, he ought to take it back. But as Mr. Douglass showed From James Haughton, Dublin, Ireland, to no disposition to retract his audacious libel, Mr. Howland did not retract his characterization of it. Had Mr. Douglass simply said that, in his opinion, the position or action of the American Anti-Slavery Society could not result in the abolition of slavery, or even explained that this was what he meant in what even explained that this was what he meant in what he did say, it would have clearly appeared to be his Mrs. Rebecca Moore, Manchester, Eng., paying to Jan. 1st. 1860.

him with as plain Anglo-Saxon speech as Mr. How-Joseph Cowan, Jr.. Newcastle, do., to Jan. 1st, and did on this occasion.

Mr. Foster's self-sacrificing devotion, his transpa.

John Mawson, do., do., to Jan. 1st, 1860, land did on this occasion. Mr. Foster's self-sacring devotion, his transparrent sincerity and his untiring zeal are not at all matters of ridicule or of light esteem. Still, the enthusiasm of his earnestness sometimes leads him to Jan. 1st, 1861, 480 make very strange assertions, and to take very ridiculous positions; and when the mountain labors, and brings forth only a mouse, it is still a farce, however honest and sincere the mountain may be. So is Of Jacob Powell, Sterling, Ill., this movement, as a political movement, which has no power but that of numbers; the few numbers Henry S. Powell, do., At Waukegan, this movement, as a political movement, which has which it attracts make it really a farce in its results. But it is otherwise in moral movements, for there one

At the Cummington, Mass. Convention,
Sept. 2d and 3d,

This new project of Mr. Foster, in so far as it PORTRAIT OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ. tends to furnish those who propose to continue active under a pro-slavery government with the shield of an avowed belief in an anti-slavery construction of the Constitution for an excuse, and in so far as it shall be the constitution for an excuse, and in so far as it shall be the constitution for an excuse, and in so far as it shall be the constitution for an excuse of the con

ture, Philosophy and Religion, edited by M. D. Con- Mr. Thompson as the best finished and the most satisway, and published at 76 West Third Street, Cincin- factory that we have yet seen of him. The Talbotype nati-price \$2.00 per annum. Nine numbers have process makes it very enduring, though necessarily been published, evincing scholarly taste and ability, ac editorial tact and judgment, a broadly reformatory spirit, and a truth-seeking purpose. The work deserves extensive patronage.

MERTINGS AT THE CAPE. We are extremely gratified to learn that the annual gathering of the friends of freedom at Harwich, on Saturday and Sunday last, was eminently successful both in reference to the numbers that attended, and the high-toned antislavery spirit that prevailed. If our absence caused any disappointment, let them all be assured that our ment, and the new reign of terror in the South, as well as the persecution spirit manifested in the North, regret, on being obliged to remain at home in conse-all call for a large and enthusiastic assemblage of the quence of illness and loss of voice, was very great; friends of freedom without distinction.

Seeking the emancipation of the enslaved, and the highest good of our common country, let the earnest friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of human rights, in obedience to the voice of friends of fr

lished the following pieces of music:—1. I'm leaving before the people.

The friends of freedom in other States are invited to the following pieces of music:—1. I'm leaving before the people. Balfe.—2. I would not to earth recall them. Written and composed by J. E. Darling. Arranged by F. Romer.—3. Do you think of the days that are gone, Jeanie? Ballad by Henry Smart.—4. Gergone, Jeanie? Ballad by Henry Smart.—4. Gergone, Jeanie? Ballad by Henry Smart.—6. Gerway Vocal Game from the German. Circled mania new Vocal Gems from the German. Circled mania new Vocal Gems from the German. Circled round with Jasmine spray, &c. -5. Jamie. Ballad. Words by J. E. Carpenter. Music by F. Wallerstein. -6. The Spirit of Light. Cavatina. Music by In behalf of the State Committee, L. Williams .- 7. Quick, arise, maiden mine! Air Styrien. Music by J. Dessauer. ON FILE. We have on file, for insertion in the

the Political Anti-Slavery Convention held at Worces-

Somes, of Maine, to Gerrit Smith .- Letter from Hen- St. Johnsbury, ry C. Wright .- 'Self-Contradictions of the Bible,' Peacham, by C. K. W .- Political Indifference a Favorable Sign, by W.—Communication from Worcester, signed Washington, Washington, Washington, West Brookfield, quirers in matters of Religion and Reform in Ellen- The friends in the several towns where Messrs. PORTRAIT OF JOHN A. ANDREW, Esq. C. H. Portrait of John A. Andrew, Esq. C. R. Brainard, 322 Washington Street, Boston, has just published an admirably executed lithographic portrait of the Republican candidate for Governor of Massa-of the Republican candidate for Governor of Massa-Milford, Mass., Sunday " 30. Milford, Mass., Sunday after-noon and evening.

As a likeness, it cannot be excelled, and must give the highest satisfaction to the numeraus friends and admirers of Mr. Andrew. [N. B. The Courier and the Post will please immediately communicate the startling and significant fact to their readers, that the following places in Maine:—

Liberator endorses the accuracy of Mr. A.'s portrait,

Auburn,

Sunday, Sept. 30.

Auburn,

Tuesday, Oct. 3. Liberator endorses the accuracy of Mr. A.'s portrait, as to them it will furnish additional proof that he cannot be safely elected Governor of the old Bay State! 'Treason! treason!']

LINA .- The Charleston Mercury of the 18th has the SELF-CONTRADIOTIONS OF THE BIBLE.

when, by referring to the Liberator, it was found FUGITIVE SLAVE EXCITEMENT IN OHIO-SLAVE REthat Mr. Garrison had only characterized the action of the Syracuse Convention in nominating candidates the Propries.—Cincinnati, Sept. 23d.—On Thursday last the U. S. Marshal, with two Deputies and eight of the Syracuse Convention in nominating candidates for the Presidency, etc., in view of the smallness of its numbers, as extremely farcical; and when it was suggested that it had not appeared in any announcement or action of the movement previous to this tatement that this was connected, by auxiliary-

One of the Deputies in attempting to capture anoth ship or otherwise, with the Gerrit Smith movement, ship or otherwise, with the Gerrit Smith movement, the charge seemed to be nothing more than a quibble.

Mr. Douglass seemed to come quite readily into the work of the annihilation of the American A.; S. Society, and in his various speeches took frequent occasion to misrepresent its character, and with his inimistable powers of sarcasm to caricature its positions.

DISTRESS IN KANSAS .- Thaddens Hvatt writes fro Mr. Howland suggested the incorrectness of this assertion. In reply, Mr. Douglass said, I know that our friend thinks that the object of the American Anti
'Friend of humanity, wait not, O, wait not, I be-

Friend thinks that the object of the American AntiSlavery Society is the abolition of slavery, but he is
mistaken, for the object of that Society is the dissolution of the American Union. To be sure, they hold
that the abolition of slavery will follow the dissolution of the Union, but that is a matter of opinion.
In my opinion it would not.

When Mr. Douglass was through, Mr. Howland took
the floor, and without attempting to make a full constitutional argument, confined himself to a brief re-

The General Agent of the Liberator acknowl edges the receipt of the following sums from subscribers in England and Ireland, remitted by R. D.

Jan. 1st, 1860, From Joshua Sharratt, Buckley, Eng., to Jan.

Jan. 1st, 1861, From Mrs. Eliza Jacob, Bullytore, Ireland, to July 1st, 1860,

The following sums, received from other subscribers in a previous remittance by the same hand should have been acknowledged at the time :-

right to hold and express this opinion, and Mr. Howland's remark would have been out of place as well as out of taste. But he did no such thing. And it is to be hoped that whenever he utters so atrocious a slander, some one will have the manliness to rebuke

Collections by Andrew T. Foss.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Constitution for an excuse, and in so far as it shall be a success that will tend to divide abolitionists where union is the great desideratum, and in so far as it shall tend to complicate and confuse anti-slavery measures and action, can prove to be nothing but a nuisance.

If Mr. Foster shall succeed to any extent in prevailing upon the masses to ignore the facts of history, to withstand their own reason and common sense, by calling the United States Constitution an anti-slavery instrument, and promising and swearing a faith to that Constitution that they do not intend to keep, in so much will be demoralize and debauch the public conscience.

J. A. H.

United States, it being a highly inished Talbotype, taken in Philaelphia when he was last in this country, is desirous of finding for it an appreciative purchaser, in consequence of being reduced in his circumstances. It can be seen at the Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Washington Street, and the price ascertained on application to Mr. Wallcut. The possession of such a portrait should be a matter of emulation among the numerous friends and admirers of Mr. Thompson, whose services in the abolition of West India slavery, in behalf of the oppressed natives in India, in the repeal of the Corn Laws, in curtailing the despotic power of the British East India Company, in the extension of British suffrage, in the promotion of the cause of peace and other beneficent movements, and in co-operation with the friends of freedom here for the overthrow of American slavery, entitle him to stand high on the list of the benefactors of mankind.

THE DIAL' is a monthly magazine for Literadding somewhat to its expense .- Ed. Lib.

STATE CONVENTION.

The Fourth Annual Meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at Bradford, on Wednesday and Thursday, the 17th and 18th of October next.

The enslavement of four millions in our land, the

NEW Music. Oliver Ditson & Co. have just pub-

J. M. COBURN, JEHIEL CLAFLIN, JAS. HUTCHINSON, JR., N. R. JOHNSTON.

Liberator next week, the following:—Proceedings of DOUGLASS will speak in Vermont as for CHARLES L. REMOND and H. FORD Friday, Oct. 19.
Saturday and Sunday, 20 and 21.
Monday, Oct. 22.
Tuesday, "23.
Wednesday, "24. ter on the 19th inst.—Letter from Hon. Daniel E. McIndoes Falls, Ryegate, Topsham, Thursday, Friday, Sat. and Sun., 27, 28. Remond and Douglass will speak are requested make the requisite arrangements for the meetings.

C. L. REMOND and E. H. HEYWOOD ill speak at Topsham, Vt., Tuesday evening, Oct. 16.

WM. WELLS BROWN will lecture in the

G. W. STACY, of Milford, will speak at West WRENTHAM, next Sunday, Sept. 30, in the Universalist Church, at the usual hours. Subject—Christianity applied to the Uses of Life.

'A man named Wm. S. McClure, hailing from the State of Maine, was on Saturday last, by order of the Vigilance Committee, whipped by a negro, at Grahamville, for tampering with slaves in that vicinity. McClure was then placed on the cars of the Charles too and Savannah Railroad, and arrived in the city yesterday, and given into the charge of the Mayor, who will ship him by the first conveyance to the North.'

Is there any virtue in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S WORLD'S

HAIR RESTORER?

READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR YOURSELF.

TO THE ED'S OF EVANGELIST:—'My age is sixty. One year ago, my hair was very gray, and had been gradually falling, until, on the crown, it had become quite thin. About the 1st of March, of the present year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's 'Restorer,' No. I, according to the directions, and have continued to apply a slight dressing of the same once in three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My hair is now almost restored to its original color, and the hue appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED THAT THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING LIKE A DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE SECRETIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certainly an advantage to one who was in danger of becoming bald.'

Rev. M. THACHER,

Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. 22, 1855.

President J. L. EATON, LL. D., Union University.

MADAM-I would state, that some time last spring I found MY HAIR FALLING OFF. I concluded to pur-chase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restorer, &c., and give it a trial. I commen ed using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstending this irregularity, I found that its influence was distinctly visible, THE FALLING OFF OF HAIR CEASED, and my locks. which before were quite GRAY, WERE CHANGED TO BLACK. I do not consider that I have given it a fair trial, but, from what I have seen of its effects in my own case, I have reason to believe that it is capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, viz., PREVENT THE HAIR FROM PALLING OFF, and to RESTORE GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR.

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK. Editor 'Ladies' Repository, incinnets, Ohio.
'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsamum with much satisfaction in dressing my own and children's hair. After trying various articles manufactured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recom-

mending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in any position desired.' 3 00 Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Christian Advo-

cate, Buffalo, N. Y. Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamian is the best I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its natural color.' &c. Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American

and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsa-mum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparation

Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor ' Christian Era,' Boston, Having used numerous specifics to little purpose,
 I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So
 I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylobal-

samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good offeet and entire satisfaction. I am now neither baid effect and entire satisfaction. I am now neither bala nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has re-gained the softness of my earlier years.' Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. ' Guide to Holiness,' Boston 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our other advertisements, we insert from act-ual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its good effects.'

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church,

Attleboro', Mass.
'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Re-'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Restorer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to directions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair.'

Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

· My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and ay hair has greatly thekened upon my nead, and put on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BECOME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANTLY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE HEAD WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP. AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full val-

ue of our money. GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE. Prescot. Lancashire.

'Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray hair was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like appearance produced by dyes, but to its own natural color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dye. answering the queries of any you may refer to

[The above clergyman is well known throughout Great Britain, and to many in the United States.]

HAVTI.

Rev. Mrs. E. S. ANDRUS, (many years Missionary to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, N. Y.

In consequence of her long residence in aforenamed island, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,'—'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum; I have tried many other remedies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently benefit-ted me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen.

Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,) 'I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's, in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use

of it in curing my baldness and grayness.' Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. 'Presbyterian Wit-

'It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till we know it is what it purports to be. Having opportunity and being satisfied of the merits of Mrs. S. A, Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be pleased to insert adversisement, &c.

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Ed-ucation R. D. Church, 337 Broadway, N. Y., and New Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y.

'Some time since, I procured a bottle of your World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative; and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling of the hair, and restored it from being gray to its original glossy and beautiful black.' Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Church Esopus, Ulster county, N. Y.

'I have no hesitation in certifying that Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum

have produced all the effects described in her adver-tisement, in restoring the color and increasing the growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail in color or decrease in luxuriance. Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattaburg, N. Y.

'I was really surprised to find my gray hair soon turned as black as when I was a young man.' Rev M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvania.

It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused a new growth, although I did not attend to it as your directions require.'

Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H. 'We think very highly of your preparations, and have no doubt, if you had an agent in this vicinity, a large quantity might be disposed of.'

We think that if these fail to convince, nothing less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to sell articles on which they make more profit than on these; always

These are the only preparations exported in any We aspire to have the best, not the lowest priced. One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1 50

Address all letters for information, &c., to 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 356 Broome Street, New York.' The Genume has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside wrappers, and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bottles—none other is genuine. Signing the name by others is forgery, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCY GOODS DEALER: lycop

a bottle. Balsam, 374 cents per bottle.

I hear in the chamber above me The patter of little feet, The sound of a door that is opened. And voices soft and sweet.

From my study I see in the lamplight, Descending the broad hall stair. Grave Alice, and laughing Allegra, And Edith with golden hair

A whisper, and then a silence: Yet I know by their merry eyes They are plotting and planning together To take me by surprise.

A sudden rush from the stairway A sudden raid from the hall ! By three doors left unguarded, They enter my castle wall.

They climb up into my turret. O'er the arms and back of my chair : If I try to escape, they surround me; They seem to be everywhere. They almost devour me with kisses,

Their arms about me entwine, Till I think of the Bishop of Bingen In his Mouse-Tower on the Rhine Do you think, O blue-eyed banditti, Because you have scaled the wall,

Such an old moustache as I am.

Is not a match for you all? I have you fast in my fortress, And will not let you depart, But put you down into the dungeons

In the round-tower of my heart. And the will I keep you forever. Yes, forever and a day, Till the walls shall crumble to ruin, And moulder infaust away.

SONG OF PREEDOM. Patriot, on, where duty leads! Onward, for thy country bleeds! Dare for her in noble deeds,-

Be not faithless now: Hearts of true men beat for thee, Thousands bend the prayerful knee, Wait to shout when victory! Crowns thine ample brow.

'Freedom !' be your battle-cry-Let it flash from every eye-Lift your glorious banner high, In the strength of God: He who ope'd the rearing sea, That his chosen ones might flee, Will your mighty helper be: Humbly take his rod.

Many hopes may sink and rise, Many clouds o'erspread the skies, Faithful hearts grow faint with sighs, Ere the happy morn; But a star bespeaks it near-See Oppression's coward fear! Soon the bondman's joyful tear

Shall usher in the dawn!

For a day though tempests lower, Virtue bleed, and vice devour, Tyrants triumph for an hour, Vet an end shall come : Ruffians bruise the honored head Strew the plains with noble dead; God will watch the martyr's bed Till that day of doom !

TRUE MANHOOD. I love the man whose honest heart Will bravely bear and bravely do, Who ne'er will act a coward's part, But, strong in right, will right pursue

Whose knee, ne'er bending at the nod Of titled pomp, or regal power, But bows alone before his God, With hope his crown, and love his bower:

Who dares to face a world of scorn, And dares a brother's hand to span. Though dark the skin and rough the form. If yet that brother be a man :

Who strikes wherever wrong is found, And brands a tyrant to his face; Nor courts applause-an empty sound-But firmly treads in virtue's trace.

Such are the men who've stemmed the tide, And clove their way through giant wrong; Who've fought triumphant, side by side, Through perils deep and trials long :

Whose martyred forms are thickly strewn On many ancient fields of crime; But seeds of truth they've widely sown, To blossom rich in coming time.

Amid that army of the dead, Whose legions pale and silent lie. They have a passing fragrance shed-Their names, immortal, ne'er shall die

ROUSE, YE FREEMEN!

Rouse, ye freemen, from your slumbers! Seize your arms and count your numbers! Now's the time for deeds of bravery ! Freedom grapples now with Slavery!

Hurrah! hurrah! the foe's divided! Press them hard, their fate's decided: Cheering thought to bold endeavor. Freedom's cause shall live forever

Mark the flag of Slavery's minions ! Bludgeon versus free opinions! Rule or ruin-pledges broken-Choke free words before they're spoken !

CHORUS Hurrah! hurrah! &c.

Are we cowards now to falter Have we nought for Freedom's altar? Shall our forces, by division, Reap defeat and hold derision Never! never! All are ready: Every column marching steady; True as were our sires before us, Marching steady to the Chorus

CHORUS. Hurrah! hurrah! &c.

Scourge of scourges, shall it longer, Year by year, grow strong and stronger Shall we spread the deadly cancer? Shew us by your acts your answer! NEVER! shout our swarming workshops; NEVER ! echo all our hill-tops ; Free-born millions thunder, NEVER! Slavery's reign is closed forever! CHORUS.

Hurrah! hurrah! &c.

Talk not of pointing men to heaven, Robbed of the rights that God has given

THE LIBERATOR.

From the Atlantic Monthly for October.

day, sometimes, and that for several days together, and himself, but them; for each assumed that he must a at other times studying intensely when work was less least attempt what Theodore Parker accomplished. pressing. Thirty years after, that same man sat in the It is very certain that his career was much shortened r ichest private library in Boston, working habitually by these enormous labors, and it is not certain that ty. That man was Theodore Parker.

ferent statements of contemporaries, some calm biogra- ing Sclavonic dialects? No doubt his work in the pher will extract sufficient materials for a true picture world was greatly aided both by the fact and the of the man; and, meanwhile, all that each can do fame of learning, and, as he himself somewhat disis to give fearlessly his own honest impressions, and dainfully said, the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew so tempt others to give theirs. Of the multitude of was 'a convenience' in theological discussions; but, some one trait, without which the whole portraiture on his mastery of twenty languages, but of one. secure this is now, while his features are fresh in our ble possession to the community, but it was not worth mi nds. It is a daring effort, but it needs to be made. the price of Theodore Parker's life.

Yet Theodore Parker was so strong and self-suffi- Strive constantly to concentrate yourself,' said the cing upon his own ground, he needed so little from laborious Goethe; 'never dissipate your powers; any other, while giving so freely to all, that one incessant activity, of whatever kind, leads finally to would hardly venture to add anything to the autobi- bankruptcy.' But Theodore Parker's whole endeave ographies he has left, but for the high example he set of was to multiply his channels, and he exhausted his life fearlessness in dealing with the dead. There may be in the effort to do all men's work. He was a hard man some whose fame is so ill-established, that one shrinks to relieve, to help, or to co-operate with. Thus the from speaking of them precisely as one saw them; 'Massachusetts Quarterly Review' began with quite but this man's place is secure, and that friend best a promising corps of contributors; but when it appraises him who paints him just as he seemed. To peared that its editor, if left alone, would willingly undepict him as he seas must be the work of many men, dertake all the articles, -science, history, literature, and no single observer, however intimate, need at- everything, -of course the others yielded to inertia, tempt it.

sentiment of love. His services, his speculations, his ished; nothing could be named but he had been plancontests, his copious elequence, his many languages, ning just that for years, and should by-and-by get leisthese come in as secondary things, but the predominant ure for it, and there really was not enough left to call testimony is emotional. Men mourn the friend even out the energies of any one else. Not from any petty more than the warrior. No fragile and lovely girl, egotism, but simply from inordinate activity, he stood fading untimely into heaven, was ever more passion- ready to take all the parts. ately beloved than this white-haired and world-weary man. As he sat in his library, during his life-companion-scholar found soon that it was impossible time, he was not only the awakener of a thousand to keep pace with one who was always accumulating, intellects, but the centre of a thousand hearts ;-he and losing nothing. Most students find it necessary furnished the natural home for every foreign refugee, to be constantly forgetting some things to make room every hunted slave, every stray thinker, every vexed for later arrivals; but the peculiarity of his memory and serrowing woman. And never was there one of was, that he let nothing go. I have more than once these who went away uncomforted, and from every heard him give a minute analysis of the contents of part of this broad nation their scattered hands now some dull book read twenty years before, and have fling roses upon his grave.

by any mere isolated acts of virtue; indeed, it never have ever seen which reminded one of the Astor,-alis so bought; love never is won but by a nobleness though latterly collected more for public than perwhich pervades the life. In the midst of his great- sonal uses, was one which no other man in the naest cares, there never was a moment when he was not tion, probably, had sufficient bibliographical knowlalle too generous of his time, his wisdom, and his edge single-handed to select, and we have very few money. Borne down by the accumulation of labors, men capable of fully appreciating its scholarly value, grudging, as a student grudges, the precious hour as it stands. It seems as if its possessor, putting all that, once lost, can never be won back, he yet was his practical and popular side into his eloquence and al ways holding himself at the call of some poor crimaction, had indemnified himself by investing all his inal at the police office, or some sick girl in a subur- scholarship in a library of which less than a quarter ban town, not of his recognized parish, perhaps, but of the books were in the English language.

longing for the ministry of the only preacher who All unusual learning, however, brings with it the er, he were out his life by retailing its great influ- as Mr. Parker himself said, every one gets a mouththat minor bestowal to ask if there were not some the true from the counterfeit. It is, however, possible eral donation of dollars.

of forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not be the had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness, whether for good or evil. He had not forgetfulness are forgetfulness. in and saintliness with one commo careless pall. So long as a man persisted in a wrong I can sit down, and seriously discuss a disputed readborious or exhausting, no night so long or drowsy, written upon it.' Yet Greek and Latin were only but Theodore Parker's unsleeping memory stood on the preliminaries of Mr. Parker's scholarship. guard, full-armed, ready to do battle at a moment's I know, for one,-and there are many who will warning. This is generally known; but what may bear the same testimony,-that I never went to Mr. not be known so widely is, that, the moment the ad- Parker to talk over a subject which I had just made versary lowered his spear, were it for only an inch or a speciality, without finding that on that particular an instant, that moment Theodore Parker's weapons matter he happened to know, without any special inwere down, and his arms open. Make but the slight- vestigation, more than I did. This extended beyond est concession, give him but the least excuse to love books, sometimes stretching into things where his you, and never was there seen such promptness in questioner's opportunities for knowledge had seemed forgiving. His friends found it sometimes harder to considerably greater,-as, for instance, in points conjustify his mildness than his severity. I confess that nected with the habits of our native animals and the I, with others, have often felt inclined to criticise a phenomena of out-door Nature. Such were his woncertain caustic tone of his, in private talk, when the derful quickness and his infallible memory, that name of an offender was alluded to; but I have also glimpses of these things did for him the felt almost indignant at his lenient good-nature to years. But, of course, it was in the world of books that very person, let him once show the smallest that this wonderful superiority was chiefly seen, and symptom of contrition, or seek, even in the clumsiest the following example may serve as one of the most way, or for the most selfish purpose, to disarm his striking among many:enerous antagonist. His forgiveness in such cases It happened to me, some years since, in the

tators and writers. sorn out through this enormous activity,-a warn- (N. B. I have never heard from him since. ing as well as an example. To all appeals for mode- Stimulated by ill-success, I aimed higher, and struck ived farmers behind him, and had their strength of Charlemagne. to draw upon. All his physical habits, except in this lord judge, rubbing his burleigh brow,- Charleried no dangerous experiments, committed no ex- sure of one man, at least, to whom law meant als he fact,) without ultimate self-destruction. Nor was to Theodore Parker. I did so. 'Go,' replied he is nis the practice during his period of health alone, but stantly, 'to alcove twenty-four, shelf one hundred t was pushed to the last moment: he continued in and thirteen, of the College Library at Cambridge, he pulpit long after a withdraws I was peremptorily and you will find the information you need in a thick traightway prepared the most laborious literary works ser, and found my fortune made. It was one of those

He worked thus, not from ambition, nor altogether and I had no reason to suppose that any reader had from principle, but from an immense craving for disturbed its repose until that unwearied industry had which had become second nature to explored the library.

new systems of Scriptural exegesis. He did not, for a day in the year, nor an hour in the day, make rest a matter of principle, nor did he ever indulge in it as a pleasure, for he knew no enjoyment so great as in-THEODORE PARKER.

'Sir Launcelot! ther thou lyest; thou were never matched of none earthly knights hands; thou were the truest freende to thy lover that ever bestrood horse; and thou were the kindest man that ever strooke with aword; and thou were the sternest knight to thy mortall foe that ever put spere in the a lyceum-lecturer, a radical leader, and a practical rest.'—La Morte D'Athisu. philanthropist, was simply to apply half a dozen dis-In the year 1828, there was a young man of tinct suicides to the abbreviation of a single life, eighteen at work upon a farm at Lexington, performing bodily labor to the extent of twenty hours in a him, the tendency of his career was not only to kill

from twelve to seventeen hours a day in severer toil. its value was increased in a sufficient ratio to The interval was crowded with labors, with acquisi- compensate for that evil. He justified his incessant tions, with reproaches, with victories, with honors; winter-lecturing by the fact that the whole country and he who experienced all this died exhausted at the was his parish, though this was not an adequate exend of it, less than fifty years old, but looking seven- cuse. But what right had he to deprive himself y. That man was Theodore Parker.

The time is far distant when, out of a hundred difpreachers, and waste the golden July hours in studydifferent photographers, each perchance may eatch after all, his popular power did not mainly depend would have remained incomplete; and the time to Theodore Parker's learning was undoubtedly a valu-

and dropped away. So, some years later, when some The first thing that strikes an observer, in listening of us met at his room to consult on a cheap series of to the words of public and private feeling elicited by popular theological works, he himself wasso rich in his departure, is the predominance in them all of the his own private plans, that all the rest were impover-

afterwards found the statement correct and exhaust-This immense debt of gratitude was not bought ive. His great library,—the only private library I

had touched her soul. Not a mere wholesale reform- suspicion of superficiality; and in this country, where, ences to the poorest comer. Not generous in money ful of education, but scarce one a full meal,'-where only,-though the readiness of his beneficence in that every one who makes a Latin quotation is styled 'a direction had few equals, -he always hastened past ripe scholar, '-it is sometimes difficult to distinguish other added gift possible, some personal service or to apply some tests. I remember, for instance, that one of correspondence, some life-blood, in short, to be lav- the few undoubted classical scholars, in the old-fashished in some other form, to eke out the already lib- joned sense, whom New England has seen,-the late John Glen King of Salem, - while speaking with very There is an impression that he was unforgiving. limited respect of the acquirements of Rufus Choate Unforgetting he certainly was; for he had no power in this direction, and with utter contempt of those of which his friends tried in vain to correct; but the cir- no superior. But so far as literary execution is conattitude before God or man, there was no day so la- ing, and find him familiar with all that has been

was more exuberant than his wrath had ever been. course of some historical inquiries, to wish for fuller It is inevitable, in describing him, to characterize information in regard to the barbarous feudal codes of his life first by its quantity. He belonged to the the Middle Ages,-as the Salic, Burgundian, and true race of the giants of learning; he took in knowl- Ripuarian, - before the time of Charlemagne. The dge at every pore, and his desires were insatiable. common historians, even Hallam, gave no very satis-Not, perhaps, precocions in boyhood,-for it is not factory information, and referred to no very available recocity to begin Latin at ten and Greek at eleven, books; and supposing it to be a matter of which every o enter the Freshman class at twenty, and the pro- well-read lawyer would at least know something. essional school at twenty-three, -he was equalled by asked help of the most scholarly member of that proew students in the tremendous rate at which he pur- fession within my reach. He regretted his inability ued every study, when once begun. With strong to give me any aid, but referred me to a friend of his, ody and great constitutional industry, always ac- who was soon to visit him, a young man, who was uiring and never forgetting, he was doubtless, at the already eminent for legal learning. The friend soor me of his death, the most variously learned of liver arrived, but owned, with some regret, that he had no Americans, as well as one of the most prolific of paid no attention to that particular subject, and did not even know what books to refer to; but he would Why did Theodore Parker die? He died prematurely, at least ascertain what they were, and let me know. ation, during the latter years of his life, he had but at the Supreme Bench of a certain State, breaking ne answer,-that he had six generations of long- in on the mighty repose of his Honor with the name 'Charlemagne?' responded my espect, were unexceptionable: he was abatemious in magne lived, I think, in the sixth century?' Disiet, but not ascetic, kept no unwholesome hours, mayed, I retreated, with little further inquiry; and esses. But there is no man who can habitually history and literature, I took refuge with Charles tudy from twelve to seventeen hours a day, (his Sumner. That accomplished scholar, himself for riend Mr. Clarke contracts it to 'from six to once at fault, could only frankly advise me to do at welve, but I have Mr. Parker's own statement of last what I ought to have done at first, -to apply bed for him; and when forbidden to leave quarto, bound in vellum, and lettered "Potgiesser de ome for lecturing, during the winter of 1858, he Statu Servorum."' I straightway went for Potgiesf his life, for delivery as lectures in the Fraternity patient old German treatises which cost the labor of one man's life to compile, and another's to exhaust

im. His great omniverous, hungry intellect must have onstant food,—new languages, new statistics, new times have made mistakes, and with his great quickistorical investigations, new scientific discoveries, ness of apprehension he sometimes formed hasty con

clusions. But no one has any right to say that his great acquirements were bought by any habitual saland than he can cultivate : and Theodore Parker was to discriminate, to omit anything, or to mature any compelled, by the natural limits of time and strength, thing. He had the opportunities, the provocatives

delight. Without grace or beauty or melody, his forge. mere elecution was sufficient to produce effects which melody and grace and beauty might have sighed for books is concerned, set aside all considerations of of the most admirably moulded sentences he ever his most golden sentence, and let all else go. The

American scholar, he plunged deep into the current Divinity Hall. faith with such tremendous criticism of public and tual ground, perhaps, than anywhere else in his writprivate sins formed an irresistible power. He could ings, -his critique on Emerson in the 'Massachusetts condemn without crushing, -denounce mankind, yet Quarterly, -the indications of this mental disparity. save it from despair. Thus his pulpit became one of It is in many respects a noble essay, full of fine moral the great forces of the nation, like the New York appreciations, bravely generous, admirable in the Tribune. His printed volumes had but a limited cir- loyalty of spirit shown towards a superior mind, and culation, owing to a defective system of publication, all warm with a personal friendship which could find and they instantly spread far and wide. Accordingly ter in which they are imbedded. Nor this alone; he found his listeners everywhere; he could not go so but, on drawing near the vestibule of the author's far West but his abundant fame had preceded him; finest thoughts, the critic almost always stops, unable his lecture-room in the remotest places was crowded, quite to enter their sphere. Subtile beauties puzzle and his hotel-chamber also, until late at night. Prob. him; the titles of the poems, for instance, giving by ably there was no private man in the nation, except, delicate allusion the key-note of each, -as 'Astrea,' perhaps, Beecher and Greeley, whom personal strang- 'Mithridates,' 'Hamatreya,' and 'Etienne de la ers were so eager to see; while from a transatlantic Bocce, -seem to him the work of 'mere caprice': direction he was sought by visitors to whom the two he pronounces the poem of 'Monadnoe' 'poor and other names were utterly unknown. Learned men weak'; he condemns and satirizes the 'Wood-notes,' from the continent of Europe always found their way, and thinks that a pine-tree which should talk like first or last, to Exeter Place; and it is said that Mr. Emerson's ought to be cut down and cast into Thackeray, on his voyage to this country, declared the sea. that the thing in America which he most desired was The same want of fine discrimination was usually

that no one could go away from a first interview with. justice which held the balance, they yet left one with out astonishment and delight. There are those among the feeling, that, after all, the delicate main-springs the outpouring of vast floods of various and delight- satire, catalogues of sins that seemed pages from some ful information, I believe that he could have had no Recording Angel's book, - these were his mighty Anglo-Saxon rival, except Macaulay. And in Mr. methods; but for the subtilest analysis, the deepest Parker's case, at least, there was no alloy of conver- insight into the mysteries of character, one must look sational arrogance or impatience of opposition. He elsewhere. It was still scene-painting, not portraihear others, but because they did not care to hear wonder, when heard in the Music Hall, produced a themselves when he was by. The subject made no slight sense of insufficiency, when read in print. It difference; he could talk on anything. I was once was certainly very great in its way, but not in quite with him in the society of an intelligent Quaker far- the highest way; it was preliminary work, not final; farmer held his own ably for a time; but long after or Napoleon.

The same thing was often manifested in his critiflowed on exhaustless, with accounts of Nova Scotia cisms on current events. The broad truths were ploughing and Tennessee hoeing, and all things rural, stated without fear or favor, the finer points passed ancient and modern, good and bad, till it seemed as if over, and the special trait of the particular phase

air of elaborate preparation, while Theodore Parker's height of the storm had passed by. most scholarly performances were still stump-speeches. These are legitimate criticisms to make on Theodore ford a sentence which falls in perfect cadence upon is only the loftiest trees of which it occurs to us he himself attributed to the style of John Quincy for not comprising everything. But though the Adams,—'disorderly, ill-compacted, and homely to a closest scrutiny may sometimes find cases where he fault.' He said of Dr. Channing,—'Diffuseness is failed to see the most subtile and precious truth, it ways of hitting the mark,—one with a single bullet, proclaim it, or, proclaiming, failed to give it force and the other with a shower of small shot: Dr. Channing power. He lived his life much as he walked the chose the latter, as most of our pulpit orators have

critice of thoroughness. To say that they sometimes impaired the quality of his thought would, undoubtedly, be more just; and this is a serious charge to bring. Learning is not accumulation, but assimilation; every man's real acquirements must pass into effects, but farewell forever to all finer touches and his own organization, and undue or hasty nutrition delicate gradations! No man can write for posterity, does no good. The most priceless knowledge is not while hastily snatching a half-day from a week's lecworth the smallest impairing of the quality of the turing, during which to prepare a telling Sunday hathinking. The scholar cannot afford, any more than rangue for three thousand people. In the perpetual the farmer, to lavish his strength in clearing more rush and hurry of his life, he had no time to select, to let vast tracts lie fallow, and to miss something of and the drawbacks which make the work and mar the the natural resources of the soil. One sometimes fame of the professional journalist. His intellectual wishes that he had studied less, and dreamed more,— existence, after he left the quiet of West Roxbury, for less encyclopedic information, and more of his was from hand to mouth. Needing above all men to concentrate himself, he was compelled by his whole But it was in popularizing thought and knowledge that position to lead a profuse and miscellaneous life.

his great and wonderful power lay. Not an original All popular orators must necessarily repeat then thinker, in the same sense with Emerson, he yet trans-lated for tens of thousands that which Emerson spoke dore Parker chiefly among preachers. The mere freto hundreds only. No matter who had been heard on quency of production makes this inevitable,—a fact any subject, the great mass of intelligent, 'progressive' which always makes every finely organized intellect, New England thinkers waited to hear the thing sum. first or last, grow weary of the pulpit. But in his med up by Theodore Parker. This popular interest case there were other compulsions. Every Sunday a went far beyond the circle of his avowed sympathi- quarter part of his vast congregation consisted of per-ers seemed to have hit the target, his shot was the of those visitors must go away, therefore, without heartriumphant one, at last. Thinkers might find no ing the great preacher define his position on every new thought in the new discourse, leaders of action point, -not theology alone, but all current events and no new plan, yet, after all that had been said and permanent principles, the Presidential nomination or done, his was the statement that told upon the com-munity. He knew this power of his, and had ana-woman's rights, woman's costume, Boston slave-kidlyzed some of the methods by which he attained it. nappers, and Dr. Banbaby, -he must put it all in. though, after all, the best part was an unconscious His ample discourse must be like an Oriental poem, and magnetic faculty. But he early learned, so he which begins with the creation of the universe, and once told me, that the New England people dearly includes all subsequent facts incidentally. It is astonloved two things, - a philosophical arrangement and a ishing to look over his published sermons and address-plenty of statistics. To these, therefore, he treated es, and see under how many different names the same them thoroughly ; in some of his 'Ten Sermons,' the stirring speech has been reprinted ;-new illustrations, demand made upon the systematizing power of new statistics, and all remoulded with such freshness his audience was really formidable; and I have al- that the hearer had no suspicions, nor the speaker ways remembered a certain lecture of his on the An- either, -- and yet the same essential thing. Sunday glo-Saxons as the most wonderful instance that ever discourse, lyceum lecture, convention speech, it made ame within my knowledge of the adaptation of sol- no difference, he must cover all the points every time. id learning to the popular intellect. Nearly two No matter what theme might be announced, the peohours of almost unadorned fact, -for there was far ple got the whole latitude and longitude of Theodore less than usual of relief and illustration, and yet Parker, and that was precisely what they wanted. the lyceum-audience listened to it as if an angel sang He, more than any other man among us, broke down to them. So perfect was his sense of purpose and of the traditional non-committalism of the lecture-room, power, so clear and lucid was his delivery, with such and oxygenated all the lyceums of the land. He wonderful composure did he lay out, section by sec- thus multiplied his audience very greatly, while pertion, his historical chart, that he grasped his hearers haps losing to some degree the power of close logic as absolutely as he grasped his subject: one was com- and of addressing a specific statement to a special pelled to believe that he might read the people the point. Yet it seemed as if he could easily leave the Sanscrit Lexicon, and they would listen with ever fresh | lancet to others, grant him only the hammer and the

in vain. And I always felt that he well described quantity, of popularity, of immediate influence, and his own eloquence while describing Luther's, in one sternly test by quality alone,-judge each author by achieved,- The homely force of Luther, who, in the deeds make the man, but it is the style which makes language of the farm, the shop, the bost, the street or dooms the writer. History, which always sends JOHN II. PRAY, SONS & CO. or the nursery, told the high truths that reason or great men in groups, gave us Emerson by whom to religion taught, and took possession of his audience test the intellectual qualities of Parker. They coby a storm of speech, then poured upon them all operated in their work from the beginning, in much the riches of his brave plebeian soul, baptizing every the same mutual relation as now; in looking back head anew,-a man who with the people seemed over the rich volumes of the 'Dial,' the reader now more mob than they, and with kings the most impe- passes by the contributions of Parker to glean every sentence of Emerson's, but we have the latter's au-Another key to his strong hold upon the popular thority for the fact that it was the former's articles mind was to be found in his thorough Americanism which originally sold the numbers. Intellectually, of training and sympathy. Surcharged with Euro- the two men form the complement to each other; it pean learning, he yet remained at heart the Lexington is Parker who reaches the mass of the people, but it farmer's-boy, and his whole atmosphere was indigen- is probable that all his writings put together have not ous, not exotic. Not haunted by any of the distrust had so profound an influence on the intellectual leadand over-criticism which are apt to effeminate the ers of the nation as the single address of Emerson at hearty national life around him, loved it, trusted | And it is difficult not to notice, in that essay in it, believed in it; and the combination of this vital which Theodore Parker ventured on higher intellec-

visible in his delineations of great men in public life. Indeed, his conversational power was so wonderful Immense in accumulation of details, terrible in the us, it may be, more brilliant in anecdote or repartee, of character had been missed. Broad contrasts, heaps more eloquent, more profoundly suggestive; but for of good and evil, almost exaggerated praises, pungent monopolized, not because he was ever unwilling to ture; and the same thing which overwhelmed with mer, when the conversation fell on agriculture: the it was Parker's Webster, not Emerson's Swedenborg

the one amusing and interesting theme in the universe sometimes missed. His sermons on the last revivals, were the farm. But it soon proved that this was only for instance, had an enormous circulation, and told one among his thousand departments, and his hearers with great force upon those who had not been swept felt, as was said of old Fuller, as if he had served his into the movement, and even upon some who had been. The difficulty was that they were just such But it must now be owned that these astonishing discourses as he would have preached in the time of results were bought by some intellectual sacrifices Edwards and the 'Great Awakening'; and the point which his nearer friends do not all recognize, but which many thought the one astonishing feature of which posterity will mourn. Such a rate of speed is the new excitement, its almost entire omission of the compatible with the finest literary execution. A 'terrors of the Lord,' the far gentler and more windelicate literary ear he might have had, perhaps, but ning type of religion which it displayed, and from he very seldom stopped to cultivate or even indulge which it confessedly drew much of its power, this t. This neglect was not produced by his frequent was entirely ignored in Mr. Parker's sermons. He was habit of extemporaneous speech alone; for it is a too hard at work in combating the evangelical theo singular fact, that Wendell Phillips, who rarely writes logy to recognize its altered phases. Forging lighta line, yet contrives to give to his hastiest efforts the ning-rods against the tempest, he did not see that the

Vigorous, rich, brilliant, copious, they yet seldom af- Parker, for he was large enough to merit them. It the ear; under a show of regular method, they are remark that they do not touch the sky, and a man loose and diffuse, and often have the qualities which must comprise a great deal before we complain of him the old Adam of the pulpit. There are always two will never discover one where, seeing, he failed to streets of Boston,-not quite gracefully, nor yet statedone.' Theodore Parker chose it also.

Perhaps Nature and necessity chose it for him. If eyes wide open, and thrusting his broad shoulders a not his temperament, at least the circumstances of his little forward, as if butting away the throng of evil

of unwholesome cloud. Wherever he went, if of unwholesome visions vigilance, an unfergetting memory, a tongue that never faltered, and an an memory, a torque that never quailed. Not primarily an administrative nor yet a military mind, he yet exerted a positive or nor yet a minute, in the whole community around him, by the mental and moral strength. He moved down he wests of evil as in his youth he moved the gree, and all his hours of study were but whetting the cepts And for this great work it was not essential that the

And for this great razor's edge. Grant that hat blade should have a razor's edge. Grant that Pale was not also Emerson; no matter, he was Parker, was not also binerant, in manner, we was rather. If ever a man secured season to and a og. ing a unique sphere of activity, he filled it with the a wealth of success, that there is now no one in the nation whom it would not seem an absurdity to nonnate for his place. It takes many instrum plete the orchestra, but the tones of this organ the Music Hall shall never hear again,

One feels, since he is gone, that he made his gray qualities seem so natural and inevitable, we for that all did not share them. We forgot the schole; proverbial reproach of timidity and selfshees, in watching him. While he lived, it reemed a name of course that the greatest acquirements and the heartiest self-devotion should go together, Car as keep our strength, without the tonie of his example; subtilties of poet or seer in him who gave his lib is the cause of the humblest! Life speaks the lodge We do not ask what Luther said or wrote, but my what he did; and the name of Theodore Parker wi not only long outlive his books, but will last fur be yond the special occasions out of which he moulded his grand career.

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